

Crowbar and Ax: The Detroit Raids

See pages
15 and 18

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS

February 20, 1940

The Youth vs. Roosevelt

by Joseph Starobin

Washington Enters the War

by Adam Lapin

Hanging the Kaiser in 1940

by Theodore Draper

La Follette in California

Ella Winter

William Gropper: People's Artist

by James Dugan

Between Ourselves

IS THE advocacy of peace a crime? Is the Bill of Rights facing outright suspension? Is President Roosevelt laying plans to place America's traditional freedom of the press in cold storage? More specifically, is Attorney General Jackson attempting to suppress NM because it happens to be the only weekly magazine in the United States to express the American people's profound opposition to the administration's attempts to plunge us into the European war?

The readers of NM are warmly invited to hear the answers to these fundamental questions Monday, February 26, at a public defense rally held at Webster Hall, N. Y. C., against the persecution of NM by the Department of Justice, J. Edgar Hoover's Federal Bureau of Investigation, a Federal Grand Jury sitting in Washington, D. C., and the United States district attorney in the Southern Judicial District of New York.

Your invitation to attend this meeting is extended by a group of well

known writers, journalists, artists, and educators, who responded to the storm signals we sent out in last week's issue. Among the prominent persons included in this doughty and determined group of NM defenders are: Elliot Paul, author of *Life and Death of a Spanish Town* and other novels; Millen Brand, author of *The Heroes*, and *The Outward Room*, the dramatic version of which, *The World We Make*, is now playing to capacity Broadway audiences; George Seldes, veteran war correspondent, author of *Lords of the Press*, and ace exposé of capitalist press fakery; John L. Spivak, whose recent NM series on "Silver Charlie" Coughlin was the latest of his many detective-reporter exposes; Anna Louise Strong, journalist, author, and editor; Prof. Edwin Berry Burgum of New York University; William Blake, author of *The Painter and the Lady*, *The World is Mine*, and *An American Looks at Karl Marx*; Prof. V. J. McGill of Hunter College, an editor of *Science and Society*; Leonard Boudin, prominent young labor attorney; Ruth McKenney, author of *My Sister Eileen* and *Industrial Valley*; A. Redfield, the cartoonist who satirized the "Russia Was Okay Until..." Society, which has just been joined by no less a person than Franklin Delano Roosevelt of Groton and Harvard; Richard Wright, who wrote *Uncle Tom's Children*; Bruce Minton and John Stuart, co-authors of *Men Who Lead Labor*; William Gropper, who needs no introduction to our readers; Cora McAlbert, contributor to the *New Yorker* and other periodicals; Shaemas O'Sheel, Irish patriot, author, and consistent fighter for freedom; Theodore Draper and Isidor Schneider, former editors of NM; and a host of others whose names will be announced in our next issue.

All of the aforementioned have pledged their determination that NM shall survive the current government persecution. These distinguished fighters on the American cultural front are acting as sponsors of the Webster Hall meeting of February 26 in defense of NM and genuine freedom of the press. A number of the writers and artists sponsoring the rally will desert their pens and brushes to mount the rostrum at Webster Hall.

Many of the speakers recall from firsthand knowledge the suppression of the old *Masses* during the First World War when it boldly and courageously raised its editorial voice against the Conscription Act. The *Masses* was charged with "sedition" in 1917, and was barred from the United States mails. Government decree, ably assisted by George

Creel's Bureau of Public Information, whipped up a hysteria which resulted in the arbitrary refusal of the Interborough Subway News Co. to distribute the *Masses* on its subway newsstands. Some exciting background of this period will be related.

No NM reader able to trek to the defense rally will want to miss the inside story of the government's current attempt to suppress NM, with all its sinister implications.

Admission to the Webster Hall rally will be free. Our sponsoring committee urges that every reader of NM within commuting distance of Manhattan respond to the grave emergency and confront the hell-bent-for-participation-in-the-imperialist-war group, including the President himself, with telling evidence that you, the reader-owner of this magazine, will not consent to its execution by government ukase.

Who's Who

ADAM LAPIN is Washington correspondent for NM and the *Daily Worker*. . . . Theodore Draper, former foreign editor and foreign correspondent for NM, is the author of a forthcoming book on European affairs. . . . Robert Stark is a New York economist and writer. . . . Ella

Winter is a well known writer for progressive periodicals and the author of *Red Virtue*. She is at work on a book about Hollywood. . . . John Stuart collaborated with Bruce Minton in writing *Men Who Lead Labor*. He and Minton are also authors of *The Fat Years and the Lean*, to be published late next month. . . . Ralph Ellison is a young Negro writer. . . . Mike Quin is the author of the famous pamphlet *The Yanks Are Not Coming* and a columnist for the *People's World*.

Flashbacks

MEMO to the American Youth Congress: 250 students at Northwestern University, Chicago, struck against compulsory military training, Feb. 15, 1919. . . . The aggressiveness of the reactionary mood against which the students protested was indicated by two other events of the same week: On Feb. 19, 1919, the American Socialist Society (Rand School) was convicted of attempting to cause insubordination in the armed forces and obstruction of recruiting and enlistment. Two and a half years earlier the school's imprint had appeared on a pamphlet attacking America's participation in the First Imperialist War.



A. Birnbaum

William Gropper

Mr. Gropper, more properly known as Bill, is an artist who has been drawing cartoons for NM and other publications for going on to twenty years. When Bill draws a picture of Emperor Hirohito of Japan, Hirohito yells with pain, as "Vanity Fair" found out some years back when it ran a drawing of Bill's showing the Son of Fuji drawing a rickshaw. Friends of democracy yell with delight when Bill takes his pen in hand. This month, being known officially as Gropper Month in all non-fascist lands, is celebrated in this issue by James Dugan's article about Bill in the *Sights and Sounds* department (p. 28) as well as a spread (pps. 16 and 17) of Gropper's cartoons showing his development over twenty years. Twenty years from now we'll be able to run a spread showing his development over forty years.

This Week

NEW MASSES, VOL. XXXIV, No. 9

February 20, 1940

Gropper's Cartoon	4
The Youth vs. Roosevelt by Joseph Starobin	5
Hanging the Kaiser in 1940 by Theodore Draper	7
Fifty-two Business Weeks by Robert Stark	9
La Follette in California by Ella Winter	11
Investigation A Poem by Mike Quin	12
Washington Enters the War by Adam Lapin	14
The Detroit Raid by Francis Key	15
Gropperana Two Pages of Cartoons	16
Were You for Spain? An Editorial	18
Editorial Comment	19
The State of the Union	21
A Report to the "Stockholders" of NEW MASSES by Carl Bristel	22
Readers' Forum	23

REVIEW AND COMMENT

Arms and the Manns by Barbara Giles	24
The Nineteen-Thirties by John Stuart	26
Katherine Mansfield by Alfred J. Brenner	27
The "Good Life" by Ralph Ellison	27
Labor Handbook by Milton Meltzer	27

SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

Bill Gropper, People's Artist by James Dugan	28
Hamlet's Ghost by Alvah Bessie	30
Art work by A. Birnbaum, Darryl Frederick, Ad Reinhardt, A. Ajay, Aline Fruhauf.	

Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification direct to us rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXIV

FEBRUARY 20, 1940

NUMBER 9

The Highwayman's Pal

LET us say you are attacked by a highwayman on your way home tonight. You are battling him with all your strength, holding him off, when suddenly somebody sneaks up from behind, hits you with all he's got. Your chances would be pretty slim, wouldn't they?

That's very much the way it is with NEW MASSES today. For the last two weeks we have described the assault on us by the warmakers. We have met them head-on and it requires every ounce of our strength. They have subpoenaed us, harassed us, seeking a way to quiet this voice for peace. As the fight gets hotter we find the enemy has an ally that attacks us from behind.

That ally is the creditor. The ally of political suppression is financial suppression. We're fighting a hard war on two fronts.

In the past two issues NEW MASSES has described its major conflict: we are on the firing line for the right of free press.

However, we cannot fight as we should if we are continually harassed by the bill collectors who threaten from week to week to close us. On page 22 our business manager, Carl Bristel, describes the arduous battle that goes on day after day in the life of this magazine. It is a humdrum, but none the less deadly, battle. Read Bristel's article and you will see what we mean.

NEW MASSES must have funds to carry on. Without that our resolution to see it through to the end for peace, for democracy, for the Bill of Rights, can be overcome. You, our allies, will not allow that to happen.

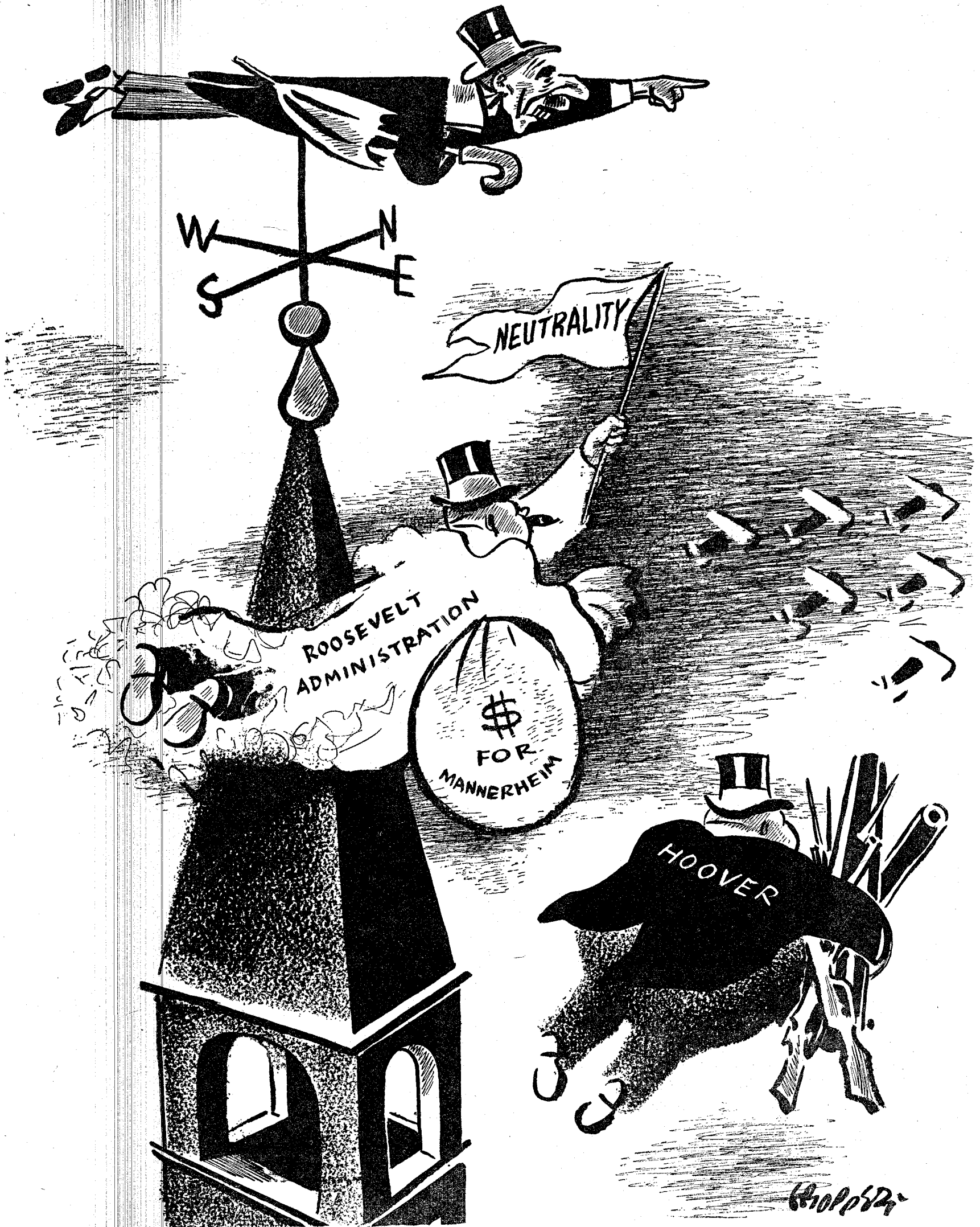
NEW MASSES must have funds at once. We urge you to do everything possible. We propose:

1. That you send us whatever you can immediately, tonight.
2. That you get your friends to help you fill out the coin-cards as rapidly as possible. You will be getting the coin-cards in the next few days.
3. That you hold parties at your home, your club, your organization to raise funds for this magazine.

We cannot fight our main enemy with all our strength if we must divert attention to the enemy at the rear.

Will you come to our aid at once, today?

The Editors.



William Gropper

The Youth vs. Roosevelt

Joseph Starobin reports the American Youth Congress Citizenship Institute. What happened, and what it means. Labor and youth vs. the administration. What may come by November.

THE old locomotive of history took a very sharp turn last weekend, a great turn. Five thousand boys and girls of the American Youth Congress were on that train; a good many arrived in Washington riding the rails. Average kids: youngsters from the schools, trade union rank-and-filers, many still in their teens, hundreds of Negro delegates from the deep South, a better delegation than ever before. The little Finnish girl with the peaches-and-cream complexion from the Atlas Social and Athletic Club of Gardner, Mass., was there. She told the truth about Baron Mannerheim. Rita Vermillion, whose sharecropper family wandered down Highway 66 in southeast Missouri: she was there and told her story. Young seamen spoke up proudly in the name of their union. A Harvard boy, clipped hair and clipped accent, told how his campus wanted to hear Earl Browder. From the Tulsa, Okla., oil country a young lad related why his father's been on strike for fourteen months.

They came all day Friday, and all Friday night. Carefully calculated nickels and dimes paid their way. Buses plodded over the mountains; three in the front seat and two in the rumble, they arrived in time to join the parade down Constitution Avenue Saturday noon. They sang "No, Major! No, Major! No!" to the tune of "Oh Johnny." New slogans like "The Yanks Are Not Coming" and "Bury the Slums Before They Bury Us" swept through the ranks. "Nothing Irks Like Cuts in Public Works," said some posters, the colors blurring in the rain.

THEY WERE SORE

These kids were sore. Sore about the whitening of National Youth Administration allowances, sore about the slicing of WPA, dismayed by the implications of the President's foreign policy. Angry, some of them, because their friends that very week had been bound in chains at the Milan, Mich., penitentiary for a crime to which most of them were ready to plead guilty: for had they not all spent many a weekend collecting coins so that the youth of Spain might live?

There were great stakes in this Citizenship Institute. Even greater to be sure than the passage of S. 3170, the American Youth Act. Five hundred million is what they ask to tide young people over the out-of-school, out-of-work age. The American Youth Congress had been chummy with the New Deal for some years. A Youth Congress rally in Detroit in the summer of 1935 first heard the news from Washington that the National Youth Administration was a fact. "I am very, very fond of many of your leaders," Eleanor Roosevelt told them in the Labor Department auditorium on that climactic

Sunday night. That was true: their leaders had lunched at the White House, weekended often at Hyde Park. Eleanor Roosevelt knew them well. She had stakes in their future.

Mr. Farley knows what the Youth Congress means in terms of votes. Four million youngsters collaborate in this unique clearing house for sixty-three national youth organizations. No political force could ignore what this pilgrimage meant. But this year, it meant all that it had in the past, and several times more. Not a young man or young woman hasn't rubbed his or her eyes at what's been happening these past six months. FDR himself slashed the budget. Martin Dies got the green light from 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. Finland has become a technique for nullifying the provisions of Mr. Roosevelt's Neutrality Act, into which was written a pledge that loans to belligerents would never again lead the youth to war. Two years ago, Aubrey Williams, now head of NYA, had to be restrained from calling for the social revolution at an AYC confab; it was headline stuff. Yet ten days ago, Williams himself gave the order to turn the names of NYA workers over to the U. S. Army. Nobody asked the workers their consent.

Young people want to know why this is happening, where it's all going. They came to the capital full of fight, full of alarm and indignation, heavy with the mandate of millions back home.

THE CROSSROAD

This was the pilgrimage of a great decision. To the administration, it meant swinging the youth movement for its foreign policy, for November 1940. Or else, it meant confusing their counsels, developing from within some nucleus that might break it apart. Should this movement defy the administration, it becomes a factor to be reckoned with, in an entirely new sense. To the delegates themselves, this was a pilgrimage for ideals and goals that shall not be betrayed. It was a crossroad in the search for employment, a guarantee of civil liberties, a warning that no statesman, whatever his past services, could reckon upon their support for war.

Forty-four hundred crowded through the White House gates according to the count; they assembled in a dense mass before the south portico. Newsreel cameras whirled as they sang "America the Beautiful," and threw their hats into the air when Jack McMichael, blond and genial chairman, led them in cheers from the White House steps. "Pass the American Youth Act" echoed against the great windowpanes from which Abe Lincoln watched the ice break in the Potomac on his last birthday 75 years ago to the day.

Little did they realize as the familiar tim-

bre of the Roosevelt voice cut through the rain what he had prepared. First came the statistical windup, a defense of the New Deal that had been "seriously mangled and garbled by certain types of papers and certain types of politicians." Then came the warning: "Don't expect Utopia overnight. Don't seek or expect a panacea—a grand, new law that will give you a handout. . . ." That caught them off guard; it came like a foul blow. Yes, he admitted, no plan exists to solve their problem offhand. On second thought, he wasn't at all certain "that your opportunities for employment are any worse today than they were for young people ten or twenty years ago." That began to gripe. Cold, soaking feet stirred uneasily on the muddy lawn. Again, "we have not found a method of spreading employment to more people when good times come."

TALKING TO EUROPE

So what was the answer? In three paragraphs, punctuated by a bitter grotesque leer, he warned them "not as a group to pass resolutions on subjects which you have not thought through, and on which you cannot possibly have complete knowledge." As for calling this an imperialist war, that was "twaddle." Mrs. Roosevelt, standing near at hand, stiffened as the cold silence gripped the crowd. One reporter chose the moment to light his cigarette; another stamped an unfinished butt into the soggy earth.

From then on, he wasn't talking down, but beyond their heads. Way above, to the nation, beyond the nation to Europe. This was the sharpest assault in recent history against peoples who inhabit one-sixth of the earth. As he gave them the "I-Came-To-Russia-Prepared-to-Love-It" line, the "Russia-Was-Okay-Until" sarsaparilla, the gap between the young people on the lawn and the man on the portico widened visibly.

It was sharp, bitter, vindictive, and deliberate; the boos froze in their throats. They stood for minutes and minutes after he was finished; they went through the stanzas of "America the Beautiful" in something of a trance. Swarming through the wide White House gates, they were eager to be gone.

One hour later John L. Lewis formed the answer out of their own inchoate emotions. And these young people shouted in relief; the auditorium rang out with their laughter, the first real laughter of the day. Lewis made a serious, a genuine speech. He spoke with forthrightness and substance. What had the President given them this morning in the rain? Statistics. And what had he said of their right to determine the character of the European war? Twaddle. "Well, that statement comes to a head-on clash with my con-

cept of democracy." Yes, and let the President know, Lewis thundered with pride, that the United Mine Workers of America, 600,000 strong, had adopted the same kind of resolution as they. Would he call that twaddle, too?

"How many years," he asked them, "can you afford to be without a job? How many years can you defer projected marriage? How many years must you wonder and hope that you will have an opportunity here in your native land to live the normal life of the normal citizen?"

AN ALLIANCE WITH LABOR

This was hitting the nail on the head. These were the questions in their hearts, questions which the President confessed his inability to answer, questions which John L. Lewis insisted must be answered. More fundamental in this speech were its implications. For he offered them the outstretched hand of labor, invited them to "affiliate themselves, and work out a relationship with Labor's Non-Partisan League." In this is contained the promise of a realignment of political forces in American life, a bid for independent political action of labor and the common people, a semaphore to the locomotive of history. Instinctively, they arose to acclaim this vision; instinctively, they understood the dramatic portent of this invitation. Coming in February, delegates asked each other: is this not perhaps the clue to the enigma of November? Is this unity of youth and labor perhaps the third alternative to Tweedledum and Tweedle-FD? Only the showing of *The Grapes of Wrath* was necessary to enlarge the symbolism of that day. It was given in two performances the same evening.

By Sunday morning, the administration appeared to have lost a decisive engagement. Could the Congress itself maintain unity under the terrific pressure, under the implications of these new directions? For the Youth Congress is not a homogeneous body, in its very conception. Y's and religious youth groups, among others, are not committed to political action. Yet the delegates themselves revealed what roots the Congress idea had taken in the soil of the past decade. It was by far the largest Congress in numbers; certainly less than half came from the East; delegations from the rest of the country were perhaps the most representative in its history. Threats to its unity in the past had come from such groups as the Young Socialists (this time a shadow of their former selves). Or else, from the extreme right, racketeers and patrioteers, in whose pie even Father Coughlin has had a few fingers. These groups were present in Washington this time also. They issued the customary statements, from the fashionable hotels. One or two obstreperous individuals managed to get themselves thrown out of the hall on to the front pages of the press. But they rated small, because the real issue lay between the mass of delegates and the administration. And the administration found these elements of such

questionable substance that it could not hope to employ them effectively. Better brains, greater prestige, a deeper diplomacy was necessary.

MRS. ROOSEVELT

Here, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt played her peculiar and dangerous role. Singlehanded, she undertook on the second evening of the rally to undo the damage her husband had wrought. So high were the stakes, so desperate the situation, so deeply committed is Mrs. Roosevelt personally, that only by *her* action could there be recaptured what had been lost.

That day delegate after delegate disclosed violations of civil liberties. From Detroit, one girl described how it feels to have the FBI break into your home at 4:30 in the morning. Young men from the North and South reiterated demands for passage of anti-lynching legislation, demanded the abolition of the poll tax. Frances Williams, an executive of the Congress, flatly rejected any efforts to oust the young Communists. "There is no halfway mark for civil liberties in a democracy," she said, and they cheered her. A panel on foreign policy brought forth the controversial issues. Spokesmen for the Christian Youth Council of North America, for the Farmers Union, for the National Maritime Union, the student movement, Young Judea, fraternal delegates from India and Cuba expressed opinions on the war. Some hammered home the fact that the peoples of Europe on both sides have nothing to gain in this war. Nuances were important here. Speaking for the Young Judea, Louise Meyerovitz, Youth Congress treasurer, subtly emphasized the persecution of her people by German fascism, subtly evoking differences in the characterization of the conflict. But clearly, the Congress was united on all other issues. Irrespective of what might be the realities of Soviet-Finnish relations, all delegates insisted upon making very clear their condemnation of loans to any belligerent, seeing in this a violation of the spirit of FDR's own neutrality law.

The First Lady of the Land took this as a challenge. It was. She asked for questions from the floor, and for the next two hours the overflowing auditorium listened to her metallic, earnest voice, sometimes strained with passion, argue the administration's case. This was even deeper drama than the day before.

EXPLANATIONS

Yes, she said, she favored Finland. She also agreed that they could disagree. True it was that Ethiopia, Spain, and Czechoslovakia had been sacrificed by Finland's present friends. Finland was different: a democracy was fighting, irrespective of its origins in bloody civil war. Yes, she knew all the arguments from her "Communist friends." No, Sumner Welles was really a peace-loving man. It was necessary to visit the belligerents, because they alone could halt the war. But she failed to explain why he was going to Italy first. The blame for the budget cuts,

in her opinion, rests with the people. Congress is representative of the people, responsive to its pressure. If the budget is cut, it is "because people like yourselves" aren't strong enough in your pressure. This was, of course, very shaky ground, both as an analysis of our form of government, and an exoneration of the administration. The audience sensed it.

China and Japan were even thinner ice. The administration's failure to prevent the flow of supplies to Japan was deplorable. But some people always want to make money. On the other hand, we have helped China. But no one asked her by how much, and when. Yes, she favored the passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill, wished they could get the American Youth Act, but frankly doubted it. Again, insufficient pressure on Congress. On the other hand, how explain the jump in the arms budget? She was for it. After all, America might some day be invaded within twenty-four hours. Nevertheless, Congress bears responsibility for deciding how much goes for relief and how much for battleships. The fault of the people again, for Congress represents them. True enough, battleships get obsolete—but leave that to the experts! We have been wise, Mrs. Roosevelt added, in not promising the people that we shall stay out of war. That was Wilson's mistake. He made the promise and had to break it. The people forced him in. After all, a "world cataclysm" (a curious phrase) may also persuade the American people to go in again. On the other hand, "we have four sons." We don't want war. And neither, in her opinion, do the du Ponts.

It was a very vulnerable performance. Full of those inconsistencies which doom liberal statesmen to the logic of reactionary forces. Unfortunately, no delegate had the presence of mind to ask what she meant by a "cataclysm" that would force us into the war. Perhaps the advance of socialism? the assertion of their own destinies by the peoples of Europe?

It was a desperate performance, as well as vulnerable. But it was also courageous. And dangerous, since it did, in part, counteract the impression of the day before.

This then, was the Citizenship Institute of the American Youth Congress, a mighty political forum, an augury of independent thinking and independent action by American young people. It would not be wholly true to say that the process of independence from, and opposition to, the Roosevelt administration was fully achieved at this Congress. But it was given a tremendous impetus forward. Labor emerged as a force within, and before, the youth movement, a fundamental achievement. The real Roosevelt was revealed on the south portico of the White House. Four thousand young people, representing four million others, definitely did not like the visage, and said so. The locomotive made a great turn. And in the last moment, Mrs. Roosevelt jumped for the rods. But the train will go on.

JOSEPH STAROBIN.

Hanging the Kaiser in 1940

The 1914 war myths are revived: a new Versailles, smash the German nation, Blue Books, Yellow Books, and war guilt. Uniforms remain: mercenaries change.

WILL it be treason to criticize the treaty of Versailles?

Will it be a crime to doubt the atrocity stories, to recall the secret treaties, to question the wisdom of the leaders from 1914 to 1918?

If France is any example, it may come to that here. Incredible? Ironical? Evidently—but also very deadly.

Sign of the times: On a single day recently, January 31, a book by Dr. James T. Shotwell and a leading editorial in the *New York Times* appeared in belated apology for Versailles. They were only a beginning. In England and France, "reconsideration" of the peace treaties has gone much further because it began much earlier. It is currently fashionable to write, as did the editor of the *Nineteenth Century* in November: "Not the treaty, but the failure to enforce it was the injustice for which such fearful retribution has come upon us all."

Not Versailles, but not enough of Versailles made us suffer!

MR. KEYNES REPENTS

Sign of the times: In 1920, John Maynard Keynes wrote a bold criticism of the peace treaties. He took part in the conferences which drew them up until he resigned in disgust and told why in a brilliant book, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*. He and others after him made the cruelty and stupidity of the treaties into a virtual byword.

After twenty years, in the *Times* of London recently, John Maynard Keynes repented. He may be identified in this war with a scheme for unloading its cost on the wage earners. Keynes has advocated the payment of workers in two types of money: one, as at present, for immediate use, and another of no purchasing power "until the emergency is over." That there may be no mistaking his aim, this was Keynes' own interpretation of the plan: "The community at war cannot allow the individuals of the working class to make a greater demand on the national resources than hitherto; and it may have to ask of them a reduction."

The only country, as yet, which has taken Keynes' pie-in-the-sky money seriously is—Germany.

Sign of the times: The Paris newspaper, *l'Ordre*, on January 8, reprinted an article written in 1914 for the official army magazine by the eminent French philosopher Henri Bergson. It was a typical product of those times, enough to make a man ashamed of himself long after the war. In effect, Bergson banished Germany from civilized society. He inspired the French troops to victory by assuring them that Germany lacked "moral

force." Of his colleagues across the Rhine, he wrote: "No longer do its philosophers proclaim the sacredness of law, the high dignity of the human personality, the obligation for peoples to respect each other."

When Bergson was asked for permission to republish this old indiscretion, he not only agreed but he wrote an accompanying letter in which he asked that not a word be changed. He joined with those in France who identify Hitler with the German people and thus demand that both be crushed. "Hitlerism is not a historical accident, as is generally believed," wrote Bergson, twenty years after. "In reality, Germany today is identical in its essence with that of 1914. It is still Bismarckian Germany, the Germany which was converted by Bismarck, since 1871, to a brutal and unscrupulous materialism."

BACK TO YESTERDAY

The road back is a long one. Those who adopt this war do not fail to take the journey. That road leads clear into the very swamp of war lies for which every decent person once repented. The myths of 1939-40 are such crude, warmed-over imitations of the myths of 1914-18 that they cannot stand without reviving the old ones.

For example, the leading liberal of the last war, Woodrow Wilson, confessed before a group of senators in 1919 that the Allies kept him in ignorance of their secret treaties until he arrived in Paris for the peace conference. This has been challenged, but let that pass. Wilson, by his own admission, could not swallow the treaties without pleading that he never really knew what they were fighting for in Europe. He preferred to be a fool than a criminal.

If Woodrow Wilson were alive today, he could not even plead ignorance of secret treaties. From what we already know about the pre-war diplomacy, it is perfectly plain that both sides have published fake treaties and kept secret ones in reserve. If it was sinful then, it's just as bad now.

The greatest single fraud was the Anglo-Polish treaty of mutual assistance, signed on Aug. 25, 1939. The groundwork of this treaty was laid in oral agreements of the previous March 31 and April 6. According to the published treaty, Great Britain was obliged to declare war against any "European power" which attacked Poland, and vice versa. It was a general anti-aggression pact, not directed against any particular power—or so they claimed until October.

The truth came out when the government was asked why it did not declare war against the Soviet Union after the Soviet occupation of eastern Poland. On October 26, Lord

Halifax revealed that "in our discussion with Poland and with Colonel Beck, it had always been understood that the purpose of those discussions, and the sole purpose of those discussions, was to provide against a case of aggression by Germany."

Thus behind the innocent facade of the public treaty lurked a secret understanding directed exclusively against Germany. The chances are that this was but one of many secret reservations. The British have claimed that Poland never expected any military assistance, even by air. Lord Lothian made this flat assertion before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations on Jan. 4, 1940. However, the British "Blue Book" itself refutes this self-justification. Foreign Minister Beck of Poland twice pleaded, on September 1 and September 2, for immediate military assistance, and he explicitly included aerial action.

Either Lothian lied, then, or Great Britain never really promised to assist Poland; and Beck, in that case, merely begged for charity.

The only surprising thing about Germany's secret treaties is that one of them has already come to notice. On May 22, 1939, Germany and Italy signed a "military alliance" which operated automatically in case either one went to war for whatever reason. They called it the "pact of iron" to glorify the strength of the Rome-Berlin axis.

Italy's failure to fight with Germany in September naturally raised doubts about the pact. In a remarkably frank speech on December 16, Count Ciano explained: he revealed that Italy had extorted from Germany a secret promise to abstain from war for a minimum of three years. Germany's failure to fulfill this understanding implicitly freed the Italians of their "iron" obligation.

FAKE PACT

Ciano certainly did not tell all. But from his speech, and certain evidence in the French "Yellow Book," it may be deduced that the May treaty was actually an expression of a developing breach between the two fascist states. The published pact, which gave exactly the contrary impression, was a fake. At about the same time, Japan too tended to disrupt the axis. This tension within the fascist front unquestionably contributed to Germany's desire for a peaceful understanding with the Soviet Union.

It is altogether likely that Great Britain and France have signed secret agreements with Turkey and Finland. Some arrangements have been dangled before Rumania, Sweden, Japan, and Belgium. Italy is certainly the object of secret trading on the part of both sides. The inner relations between Great Britain and France have of course been regu-

lated in documents which may never come into the open until the social revolution in Western Europe.

DEADLY PARALLELS

It may be assumed, moreover, that ten lies escape notice for every one that is nabbed. Here are deadly parallels about events which were made to seem the leading causes of the last war and this.

When Germany invaded Belgium in 1914, the Allied powers made a frightful agitation about it as though only beasts could do such a thing. In reality, as C. Hartley Grattan pointed out, the French General Staff considered the possibility and made plans to check the Germans as early as 1878. Belgian and British military leaders discussed the problem in order to arrive at joint resistance as early as 1906. The French themselves, wrote Arthur Ponsonby, would have violated Belgium's neutrality if Germany had not done so first. After the war, Keynes absolved the Germans of anything worse than "damage locally" during their occupation of Belgium. Yet more than any other thing, the "destruction" of Belgium aroused emotions in the United States to fighting fever.

The corresponding myth in this war has been the Soviet-German Pact. A veritable hysteria was aroused against the Soviet Union on the charge of double-cross. The Western powers portrayed themselves as the innocent victims of an insidious intrigue which caught them utterly unprepared. The day after, Prime Minister Chamberlain told Parliament that the pact "came to the government as a surprise, and a surprise of a very unpleasant character."

To put it politely, Chamberlain knowingly exaggerated. In the British "Blue Book," Ambassador Henderson's first hint to Halifax from Berlin about a possible German-Soviet agreement came on May 28, almost three months before the event. The French "Yellow Book," however, has told a much better story. It is full of the strongest and most persistent warnings from the French Embassy in Berlin and the consulate in Hamburg. They started coming on May 7, became quite definite on May 22, and piled on more and more concrete details right through the summer.

SYSTEM OF LIES

It would be wrong to dismiss the episode as just another lie. It was much more important than that. It was part of a system of lies. It belonged to a typical mythology without which imperialist wars cannot take hold among the people. So closely does it resemble the mythology of 1914 that those who support the one must find it easy to justify the other. Herein lies the deeper significance of the deception.

Nobody any longer believes that the last war was caused by the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand or the invasion of Belgium or the precise way in which Austria presented and Serbia rejected the fatal ultimatum.

These debatable events followed many years of intense rivalry between one group of powers, dominated by Germany and Austria-Hungary, and another group, dominated by Great Britain, France, and old Russia. The little nations, Serbia and Belgium, merely obscured the larger issues despite the rich emotions which they aroused.

Both sides, however, deliberately intoxicated their peoples with propaganda about these very inessentials. Even after the war, their historians quarreled interminably about whether Russia or Germany happened to mobilize first, as though that superficial fact determined the relative guilt for the war as a whole. One way to create a mythology is to raise minor details to the dignity of decisive forces.

RETREAT FROM TRUTH

Have we forgotten all this so soon? It might seem so from Louis Fischer's recent articles in the *Nation*. They discouragingly demonstrated how far the liberals have retreated from the awakening of the twenties on war guilt. The old errors, the old emphasis on the superficial and the emotional, the ancient confusion between cause and effect, they are all there.

Even the official Allied propaganda has been smarter and subtler. Lord Lothian has freely admitted that his government made mistakes. But not Louis Fischer. In his articles there was not a single suggestion that France and Great Britain departed from righteousness at any time during the decisive period before the war. Even Germany escaped vilification, though I suppose that Fischer took that for granted. Only the Soviet Union seemed to have committed all the known crimes and blunders in the political calendar.

For Fischer, for example, the Soviet-German Pact "immediately and obviously killed the Franco-Soviet agreement." Perhaps Fischer knows how to kill a corpse. The Franco-Soviet Pact was no livelier than the Franco-Czechoslovakian Pact and that one died at Munich. The Soviets made no secret of their feelings. The *Journal de Moscou* wrote on Oct. 4, 1938: "On whom can France rely now? Her sole ally in Europe is Britain." Bonnet, moreover, learned from Ambassador Coulondre in Berlin in December 1938 that Germany planned to dismember the Soviet Union. That knowledge did not prevent him from reaching in that very month a "friendly and good-neighborly" understanding with Herr von Ribbentrop. Indeed, Coulondre's information explained Bonnet's diplomatic "achievement."

WHO ENCOURAGED GERMANY?

More serious is the whole notion that the Soviet-German Pact set the German army in motion against Poland. Nothing could be more misleading and demonstrably false. It belongs to the school of thought which interpreted the invasions of Serbia and Belgium as causes of the war in 1914.

There are, by rough count, a dozen pieces

of evidence in the French "Yellow Book" to prove that Germany's signal to go came from the Western powers. They are precise and unmistakable. They fit together perfectly. They repeat the same thing to the point of monotony.

It is needless to cite more than two. On June 4, 1939, Coulondre wrote to Bonnet: "In the opinion prevailing at the Wilhelmstrasse, if Poland does not give in, Herr Hitler's decision will depend on the signature of the Anglo-Russian accord." On July 4, 1939, Consul General Garreau in Hamburg wrote to Bonnet: "Economic circles in Hamburg, which are generally well informed, believe that the Soviet government may be prepared to sign a five-year non-aggression pact with the Reich if an [Anglo-Soviet] agreement is not soon reached."

Evidently, then, failure to reach an alliance with the Soviet Union, rather than the Soviets' peace with Germany, led the Western powers into war. That failure set in motion all the rest; the Western powers were perfectly aware of the consequences long before the event. But not Louis Fischer. He not only differs with Molotov; he doesn't even agree with Coulondre.

THEY WERE WARNED

The impression that Germany or the Western powers waited until the Soviet-German Pact before they seriously thought of war is nonsense of the lowest order. Major crises do not reach boiling point that way.

As early as March 21, 1939—almost six months before the pact—Josef Lipski, Polish ambassador in Berlin, for the first time warned Ribbentrop: German annexation of Danzig would mean war. Ribbentrop returned in kind. On May 28, Henderson spoke in the same terms with Goering. Thereafter, the exchange of threats between the diplomats became a commonplace. Ciano has revealed that Hitler and Ribbentrop told him, at their meetings on August 11-13, that "in the judgment of the Reich, the dispute had shifted from a diplomatic to a military sphere." Weeks in advance, French diplomatic agents in Berlin even advised Bonnet of the very days during which Germany planned to strike.

The Soviet government waited until the very eleventh hour before taking action. Then it was necessary to move quickly and decisively. The British had spoken: no alliance. The Germans had spoken: no delay. It remained only for the Soviets to add: no entanglements.

After the last war, a regiment of intellectuals made the shameful confession that they were deceived and were themselves deceivers. It will be no different this time, though there is much less reason for it. The old regiment has changed some of its mercenaries but not its uniforms.

THEODORE DRAPER.

This is the third and concluding article of a series by Mr. Draper answering Louis Fischer's articles in the "Nation" which perverted recent international developments.

Fifty-two Business Weeks

Robert Stark examines the figures behind the present business slump. What Wall Street offers as a way out. The hope of profits to come.

THE thermometer on the cover of *Business Week* is suffering from the cold. Week after week in the latter months of 1939 the hopeful arrows of the *Business Week* index hovered higher. But the rise halted with the first weeks of 1940 and the arrows are beginning to falter. A bellwether for statisticians is steel production, measured by percent of capacity. It's around 77.3 now. It reached 94.4 at the end of November. Querulously the editors of this mouthpiece of the captains of industry comment, "Significant fact about the steel operating rate is that it seldom manages to remain long above 90 percent of capacity. Back in 1937 operations stayed up on the high perch for eight weeks before taking a tumble; this time, ten weeks." And in 1929 it was a twenty-six weeks' roost. Nor is the drop affecting steel only—it is quite general now.

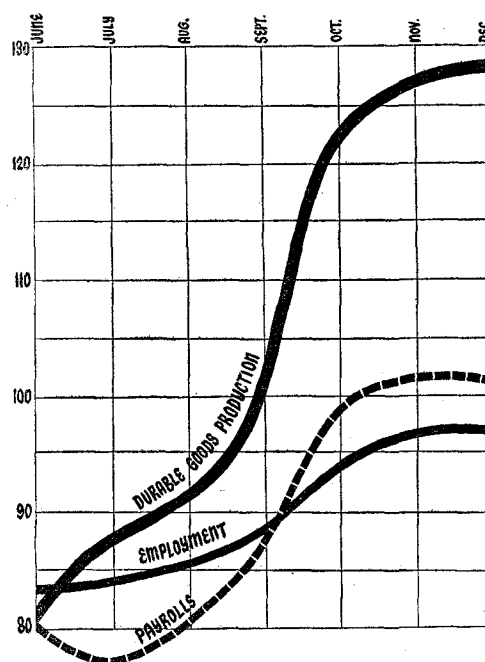
Practically the only explanation not offered for the decline is the ready-to-hand argument that this is a presidential election year. That is probably significant as an admission of big business acceptance of the Roosevelt New Ordeal policies. Business confesses that there is a decline. It hopes it will be a mild and gradual slump that will correct what capitalist economists call the "overextended position" of American industry brought about by the boomlet of September-December 1939. If this decline is arrested too soon now, they say, it will be followed by a sharper drop. But if it goes into the summer perhaps the war orders will restore "prosperity." That is Wall Street's idea of a "healthy readjustment of production into line with consumption."

FACTS OF LIFE

That this new depression will add to unemployment, that it will reduce the wages of millions, that it means hunger and suffering for millions—with such facts of life the business thermometers and the neat statistical tables are not concerned.

By all the signs business should have been humming. The war is still on and promises to be bigger and more profitable. The federal budget slashes relief and provides for battleships. Roosevelt is running with the hounds and William Green urges a "breathing spell" for business. Yet a slump is on. To seek its immediate causes we must examine more closely the achievements of the year just ended.

On the whole, 1939 was a year of decided improvement in business activity in the United States. Toward its end it was reaching almost boom proportions. Industry was buying and building and girding itself to meet the not unpleasant avalanche of war orders and profits. Prices were going up. A little speculation was in order.



Darryl Frederick

RECOVERY GRAPH. Production exceeds 1929 levels. Payrolls rose a bit. Employment lagged. Millions are still unemployed and the recession has already started. Only the profit figures are missing to tell the story of what's wrong with the American way.

As against 1938 there was a 23 percent increase in industrial production, from 86 to 106 by the Federal Reserve Board index. In durable goods, machinery, and the like, the increase was sharper still, 47.7 percent. Steel ingot production alone jumped 65 percent and automobiles 40 percent. Airplane production reached the highest point in its history; employment in shipbuilding in December was at its peak of the past twenty years.

FEVER CHART

There is the fever chart of business filling the sudden rush of orders and preparing to handle still more, meeting a rising demand and speculating on bigger profits ahead. It was not anticipated that Great Britain would lean so heavily on its own resources and hold so tenaciously to its farflung markets on which American business was ready to feast. Nor was it observed at once that the glamour of profits for business was not expanding the market at home rapidly enough.

Manufacturers of consumers' goods caught the infection. The index of non-durable goods production went up 13 percent. But even that was more than the market could absorb. For retail sales increased by only 6.1 percent in 1939 over 1938. And that figure should not only be reduced by the increase in the cost

of living, but also be viewed in the light of the fact that the value of non-durable goods in the index is based on wholesale prices.

The retail sales of 1939 represented purchases made, in the main, by the workers and farmers of America. To what extent did the workers profit from the improved business activity? Taking 1929 as 100, the index of wage and salary payments for 1938 was 79.4 and for 1939 was 83.5, an increase of 5.1 percent (Labor Research Association's *Economic Notes*, February 1940).

Notice that while non-durable, consumers' goods rose only 13 percent against a rise of 47.7 percent in durable goods production, even that increase was twice as large as the improvement in retail sales. But wages and salaries (5.1 percent higher) did not match the upswing in sales. Therefore stocks of goods produced for consumption have not fully been absorbed. This tends to slow up the consumption goods industries unless employment increases in the heavy industries. But there, as we have seen, it is not to be expected now that the trend is reversed.

The increase in production in 1939 was not attended by any commensurate improvement in either employment or payrolls. If we take the Federal Reserve Board indices for durable goods manufacture and employment and the Department of Labor index for payrolls in heavy industry, we see not only that the workers did not gain greatly by the increase in production, but also how gallantly business rallied to the opportunities dangled before it—and at a huge rate of profit.

	Durable Goods Pro- duction	Employ- ment	Payrolls
1939			
June	82	83.9	80.7
September	103	88.5	87.9
October	123	94.5	99.7
December	128	97.2	101.2

Thus the index of production gained 46 points, employment 13 points, and payrolls 21 points between June and December. Which indicates, also, that many workers employed part-time previously worked more hours during the latter months of the year. Furthermore, so rapid a rate of exploitation of labor was itself digging the New Year's pit, especially when the war orders did not materialize in the dimensions anticipated.

"Overextended" the Wall Street economists call this condition. It is the workers in the heavy industries who provide a most important market for consumer goods. The non-durable goods manufacturers expanded their production to profit from the demand expected from this market. But it did not open into the rich feeding trough they pictured.

For employment did not keep pace with the increase in production; there are still some ten million unemployed and over two million on work relief projects. Industry is manufacturing more goods with fewer workers. The farmers are growing poorer. . . . So the bubble burst.

MORE PEOPLE, LESS WORK

It is characteristic of capitalism in crisis that millions of people are cast off unwanted. In December 1939 the Federal Reserve Board index of production actually reached 128 as against the June 1929 peak of 125! But the population of the United States has grown by more than 8 percent in the interval and we have at least five times as many unemployed.

Meanwhile the banks and the big companies have more money than they know how to spend. In 1939 new capital raised by public stock or bond issues was less than half the volume of 1938, in spite of the sharp increase in industrial production, and it amounted to about a third of the new capital issues floated in 1936 and 1937. Most corporate financing in 1939 was confined to refunding operations which were usually new

securities at lower interest rates to replace older ones.

Obviously the rise in business activity during 1939 was financed mainly with the idle funds in the treasuries of corporations. In addition, the banks with their bloated and inactive deposits have been making long-term loans to corporations, running from three to ten years. By the middle of 1939 it was estimated that nearly one-quarter of all the bank loans in the country were of this type.

Here, incidentally, is proof of the "sit-down strike" which capital so indignantly denied in 1936-38. The money was there all the time. It was possible then to build new equipment and machinery, to finance vast housing projects, to feed and clothe and put the American people back to work. But business saw no prospect of juicy profits in that, so it sat tight. It was ready to shell out when the war started. "Overcapacity" is anathema to business when people want to work and eat and live. But "extension of plant" becomes the order of the day only when a world slaughter is at hand.

Business has no "confidence" when a better life for the masses of people is possible of achievement. Business is thrilling with new

hope when destruction is the goal. Here is the final function of capitalism—to demolish and dismember what it once helped to create. Here in this short history of 1939 is the anatomy of that inner necessity for American capitalism to drag us into the imperialist war—an inner necessity subject to human counteraction.

ROBERT STARK.

Cat out of the Bag

"REPEATED postponements in the issuance of the promised White Paper designed to show that efforts to bring Russia into the 'peace front' broke down because the British refused to barter the freedom of small nations is leading to speculation whether the paper will ever be issued at all. . . .

"The explanation lies . . . in the belated realization that the document, as originally prepared, failed to make out as good a case against the Soviet government as the compilers planned and that it might be more embarrassing to Britain's allies than to any one else, especially after Soviet casuists and apologists had finished talking about it."—Raymond Daniell, *New York "Times," Feb. 8, 1940, from London.*



Ad Reinhardt

"Idle Hands . . . Idle Hands . . . Now let's see . . ."

La Follette in California

Ella Winter reports the hearings of the La Follette Senate Civil Liberties Committee in the Associated Farmers country. Democracy in the orchards.

AT THE first lettuce strike trial that I attended in California, a prospective juror was asked whether he approved of labor organizing. "Yes," he answered dubiously, "but not the way they do it."

That phrase might have been the theme song of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee hearings in California which closed recently. Stuart Strathman, field organizer for "Associated Farmers," declared in a long prepared statement that the trouble had started in 1929 when the "communists" came. All trouble after that, he said, could be divided into three stages: (1) communist (agitator) organizing; (2) "infiltration period"—agitators go into the AFL; (3) "with the advent of Harry Bridges," agricultural unions turn CIO. Mr. Strathman begged La Follette not for a " cursory examination " of this or that strike, but a "fair and open-minded examination of the basic history and causes of the whole general picture."

That is just what the hearings have provided. In the small, jam-packed courtrooms of the Federal Post Office Buildings of San Francisco and Los Angeles, chapters of California history have been unfolded. The committee had investigated, sifted, examined for a year before any hearings were held. Then, from farmers, migrant workers, police officials, sheriffs, tear-gas salesmen, deputized vigilantes, and the industrialists who dominate San Francisco and Los Angeles economic life, the "whole general picture" was drawn. The economic facts were presented in scholarly papers read by expert economists, federal and state officials, university professors. These facts disclosed that a major revolution has occurred in California agriculture and is taking place in the rest of the country. Farms are becoming increasingly mechanized, industrial corporations. The tie between the farmer and his "hand" is scarcely to be found. In most cases the economic conditions under which the agricultural worker functions hardly differ from those governing the factory worker. The committee's hearings substantiated, with subpoenaed documents, letters, and records, many facts set forth in John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* and Carey McWilliams' *Factories in the Field*.

ASSOCIATED FARMERS

The Industrial Association of San Francisco, which tried to break the waterfront unions, gave \$15,000 to help a newly formed "front" committee called Associated Farmers—which had exactly forty-five real farmers in its membership. At first its funds came from industrialists: oil companies, railroads, banks, utilities, can and sugar companies, employer organizations. Of the first \$28,000 given this

great blue-jean group, exactly \$417 came from a rural county—Riverside, the home of State Sen. John Phillips, who visited Germany and learned to admire Hitler; who consistently attacks agricultural workers for organizing or making any demands.

When the agricultural committee of the State Chamber of Commerce was setting up Associated Farmers, it didn't want anyone to know it. "Joe, we'd rather stay out of those things," said Bank of America's A. P. Giannini (now being investigated by the Securities and Exchange Commission) to Joseph DiGiorgio, a simple Italian rancher who heads the \$10,500,000 DiGiorgio Corp. and its subsidiary, the \$5,500,000 Earl Fruit Co., as well as a million dollar winery and some fruit exchanges and box companies. Henry Bauer of S. Calif. Edison wrote to DiGiorgio in 1939, "We are interested in the work of Associated Farmers. But any contributions we make have to be published in Railroad Commission reports on utilities. *This would militate against AF activities.* We have contributed to Southern Californians, Inc., which of course is contributing to AF." (It certainly was. The Los Angeles hearings revealed that S. Calif., Inc., gave \$3,300 to the AF in 1937-39. Of the \$17,527 collected in those three years, exactly \$248 was subscribed by actual farmers. In 1939, the year of biggest donations, only \$2 came from an individual farmer.) A letter from the Producers' Cotton Oil Co. to Associated Farmers of Kern County said: "Our feeling is that it might be advisable not to let the name of our company enter into the letter in any way so that the AF may retain its proper designation as a 'farmers' organization." (The quotes around "farmers" are in the original.) In 1934 preparations were made for a firm of accountants to check the AF books. Subpoenaed minutes reveal that it was arranged that "there would not be disclosed to the accounting firm any of our sources of revenue."

"RURAL EDUCATION"

Leonard Wood, president of the California Packing Corp. (CalPak), wrote to a Standard Oil official: "The program of AF is to be one of education of farmers by farmers. . . . Lots of groundwork has to be done. . . . It is an impossible task collecting money from farmers at this stage." L. A. Warren of Safeway Stores informed DiGiorgio on March 6, 1939: "We have been in touch for a long time with the Associated Farmers and we have been helping them for several years." At the Pacific Coast Economic Conference of February 1936, called by the National Association of Manufacturers, S. Parker Frisselle,

past president of the State Chamber of Commerce and persistent Washington lobbyist for cheap foreign labor in the fields, said: "The State of California owes a debt of gratitude to Leonard Wood (CalPak), Forbes and Senator Boynton [both Industrial Association], *as without these men and these organizations we [Associated Farmers] would have folded up years ago.*"

In the five years since AF's inception, 1934-39, \$178,542 has been collected to "educate the farmers." This phrase, as interpreted in documents and letters, includes "a program for the orderly harvesting of crops," "picking and canning in spite of strike difficulty," and offsetting "the danger and trouble caused by subversive groups." Mr. Frisselle thus naively explained the first funds from industrialists: "We recognized the necessity of speed in getting protection from the Reds. Hence our haste to go to the industrialists. These gentlemen appreciated the necessity for stopping grave danger like the killings in Pixley." (Two workers were shot down in front of their own headquarters while the chief of the State Highway Patrol watched from behind a tree. Eleven bullets were fired into one of the workers. This was during the great cotton strike of 1933, which raised wages in cotton picking 30 cents a day. So Associated Farmers was formed, according to Mr. Frisselle, "to protect agricultural interests by cooperation with the FBI, the California Criminal Identification Bureau, the Army and Navy, and assistance to local peace officers.") "I feel," added this white-haired, stern-faced protector of civil liberties, "that we have made a splendid contribution to American patriotism."

TERRORISM

The ranchers' violence and hooliganism during strikes were brought out in detailed testimony concerning four major disturbances. Senator La Follette's strategy was to call all parties to the stand and get the whole story. Thus strike leaders and union organizers, small farmers and pickets and just plain bystanders told of attacks on their picketlines, jailings, beatings, and intimidation; state highway patrolmen, ranchers, sheriffs, ginners, and district attorneys tried to defend their actions. And every sensational tale was prefaced by an expert's paper on the economic facts and background. Stockton, Madera, Imperial Valley, Winters, Salinas—famous battle-names in our Californian civil war: cotton, dairy, turkeys, beets, apricots, lettuce, walnuts, citrus. In every crop the same story: deputy sheriffs, deputized vigilantes, even tear-gas salesmen stopping people on roads during strikes, ordering them out of town, into

jail, or to work on the ranches; arresting unknown hundreds on the picketline without a charge; corralling workers in cattle pens while the strike lasted; breaking up peaceful meetings with guns and axhandles while law officers stood by "at the wrong entrance to the park" or "unable to identify" their rancher-neighbors. Every rural county in the state has an anti-picketing ordinance pushed on the Board of Supervisors by the AF. Sheriffs testified they hadn't even read the ordinances and believed "peaceful picketing impossible." District attorneys appealed to AF officials to recommend the "most desirable model." (The one they would love of course is the Mendocino County ordinance, which enforces registration of union organizers.)

ARSENALS

Arsenals and tear gas were paid for by companies, members of AF (such as the British-controlled Balfour-Guthrie which owns nearly six thousand acres), "because the Board of Supervisors couldn't pay for it." (Why don't they go back where they came from and buy tear gas for Mr. Chamberlain? Outside agitators!) Counties stocked up with whole arsenals. "In preparation for disturbances," San Joaquin County purchased 446 pickhandles, eleven shotguns, twelve rifles, one long-range tear gas gun, 144 tear gas shells, 2,400 rounds of ammunition—\$2,175 worth. Large citizen armies were organized and Mr. Ignatius McCarthy, who had been to Washington to face the committee before, was brought in as "chemical warfare expert." On the stand he told exultantly how he had ridden into the fray and shot off his tear-gas gun at cannery workers—and a couple of newspapermen. Before he left the stand Mr. McCarthy read La Follette a lecture on his committee's unfairness.

One of the items in San Joaquin's arsenal expenditures in 1937 was for sawed-off shotguns. Senator La Follette asked Sheriff Odell:

Q: Were you or were you not familiar at that time, sheriff, with the National Firearms Act which required that all shotguns having barrels less than eighteen inches in length be registered with the Bureau of Internal Revenue?

A: Yes, sir. That had nothing to do with these guns. These guns were not sawed off that short.

Testimony was given—1,500,000 words of it—about blacklists, undercover agents, special guards, back-to-work movements, company unions, the corruption of state and local officials. ... Your head whirls and you keep asking yourself: Why is all this horror, this viciousness, done to simple, defenseless people who ask only to work for a meager living? Why do industrialists have to throw over democracy rather than give clean camps and a few dollars a day?

The experts gave us the statistics and the economic picture. The farmer has been "traced off" the land in the Midwest, starved off it in the West. A tenant farmer or owner may become a laborer if he resists the grow-

Investigation

San Jose, Jan. 31—Coroner Jesse Spalding today said malnutrition caused the death of Celia Quiroz, seven, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Ramon Quiroz, Milpitas ranch workers. Mr. Spalding said the child showed every sign of having been undernourished.

We know the investigating men
Who call and never come back again.
It must be holy; it must be nice
To enter homes and count the lice.

They are so kind in considerations,
They've made so many investigations.
They look at the stove and the sagging beds,
And count the children, and shake their heads.

Where were we born? How much do we weigh?
Where do we work? How much does it pay?
They write it down on a paper sheet;
Their writing is so clean and neat.

I am told they file it in fireproof files
In buildings of glistening, colored tiles.
And our empty stomachs and broken hearts
Are traced on fine statistical charts.

Ah, the men with dollars, so many times,
Have peeped in our dreary world of dimes,
And I hear that people in brand new clothes
Meet in the cities to speak our woes.

And one of them said that my child was weak,
That its twisted bones and its pale white cheek
Could be cured with food and warmth and sun,
And that something drastic must be done.

That our social system had gone amiss,
And things could never go on like this.
And I know it is true, what the gentleman said,
For he never came back—and my child is dead.

MIKE QUIN.

ing mechanization. Already one-third of the farm operators in California (three-fifths in the nation) employ no wage labor at all; in 1935 70 percent in California employed none. But 2 percent of all the farms produced 28 percent of the crop value; less than 3 percent of the farms paid 35 percent of the wages. Three-fourths of the workers are hired by one-tenth of the employers. Yet as labor's productivity increases—as it has since 1929—wages decrease. Economist James E. Wood showed that labor is relatively worse off now than it was in 1924-29. One-third of the nation's agricultural strikes occur in our sunkist state. Wages, it was shown, might constitute as high as 60 percent of the outlay of a corporate farm. A cut of a few cents in wages, therefore, could mean thousands of dollars saved for the employer.

ARTIFICIAL HAY

Thus the term "embattled farmer," used so smugly by the AF, is the organization's own myth—except during strikes when its propaganda drives the ranchers to violence.

The AF's "labor relations" and "peace in industry" experts can arouse a rabble and inspire hysteria more quickly than any known peace body. The AF uses the ranchers as stooges and suckers. There is something rather comic about the Pacific Gas & Electric suddenly putting straw in its hair and breaking into a barn dance. And something rather tragic in the testimony of a local rancher (Ollie Baker of Madera), driven mad by propaganda about agitators, describing the raid on a workers' meeting: "It was done in good style—with rubber hose and fan belts and what-have-you. I feel very proud of all the growers in the county. I have no criticism of none of them. The ministers of our town said we done a swell job and they was very appreciative of the meeting being stopped." The sheriff of Stanislaus County, questioned about his pickhandle army, assured the committee: "I did not ask to confine it exclusively to the American Legion, but to the *better class* of citizens."

In southern California the hearings not only exposed in great detail the open shop

activities of the Merchants and Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce, Southern Californians, Inc., and their female subsidiaries, Neutral Thousands and Women of the Pacific; they showed the extent to which employers are intimidated if they do not play ball. Minimum fines of \$10,000 are imposed if any employer-member of an association bargains collectively with a union. Lincoln Steffens once wrote a piece called "How Hard It Is to Keep Things Wrong." Apparently it has given employers plenty of headaches.

Remedies? Every attempt has been made, especially by the liberal state administration, to get the big farm corporations to cooperate in impartial wage determination. They still insist on fixing wages themselves, consulting no one, with little regard for health, welfare, or living standards. Then every farmer is forced to pay those wages—or else. (One small cotton grower testified that she paid \$1 instead of the 80 cents set and could afford to because she did not have to borrow from the bank or the gin. She said she made money, too.) Stuart Strathman was asked why the AF refused to cooperate.

Q: Do you know whether the AF took part in protest against these wage hearings?

A: Definitely.

Q: Why did they?

A: The wage hearing board listened to testimony for about two hours and then made a decision. We felt it hadn't been gone into thoroughly enough.

Q: If it had been gone into thoroughly enough would that have made any difference in your opposition?

A: No.

There was general agreement among the experts that provisions of the Wagner act, the Wages and Hours Act, and Social Security should be applied to agriculture. Employers have made self-help of workers almost impossible, and unionization difficult. (They even attack the federal camps, because the workers can organize and learn self-respect.) The AF members, both county and state officers, insisted that agriculture should be exempted from the provisions of these labor laws, and that all canning, processing, shipping, marketing operations from field to consumer's table, should be included in the term agriculture. "Democracy cannot live with the Wagner act," says one recent AF release.

Housing and sanitation, camps and shacks can be improved immeasurably. Carey McWilliams is already doing magnificent work in this respect (for which he is attacked as a blight and boll weevil). State and county organizations can refuse to put men off relief to work for lower wages in the fields. The AF is now waging a tremendous campaign to return relief to county units, as these are more amenable to pressure. AF does not intend to lessen its efforts to ensure an oversupply of labor for its harvesting season—or to soften its fight against unionization in the agricultural fields.

Instead, the AF, dragging its farmer-members along, is turning its guns against

waterfront unions. For several years, waterfront employers have called in the AF to prove that the hinterland, the rural areas, hate Harry Bridges and all his works as much as shippers do. In 1937 Associated Farmers ran a series of broadcasts "presenting both sides" of the current waterfront strife. The AF has urged handlers of agricultural products up and down the West Coast to support the waterfront employers. It has passed resolutions threatening to boycott San Francisco, and collaborated with waterfront employers' organizations in "hot cargo" assaults, anti-picketing ordinances, and the famous Anti-Picketing Initiative No. 1, defeated last November at the polls. In December 1939 AF demanded abolition of the longshoremen's hiring hall.

It is a pity the La Follette committee did not go into the waterfront situation. It might have discovered that San Francisco industrialists set up Associated Farmers not only to frighten and demoralize the rural areas, but to use agriculture as a weapon in their own fight against the much stronger urban unions.

"Democracy and private monopoly are incompatible," says Dr. Robert Brady. "Where the one grows the other must die." If the people who talk of keeping American democ-

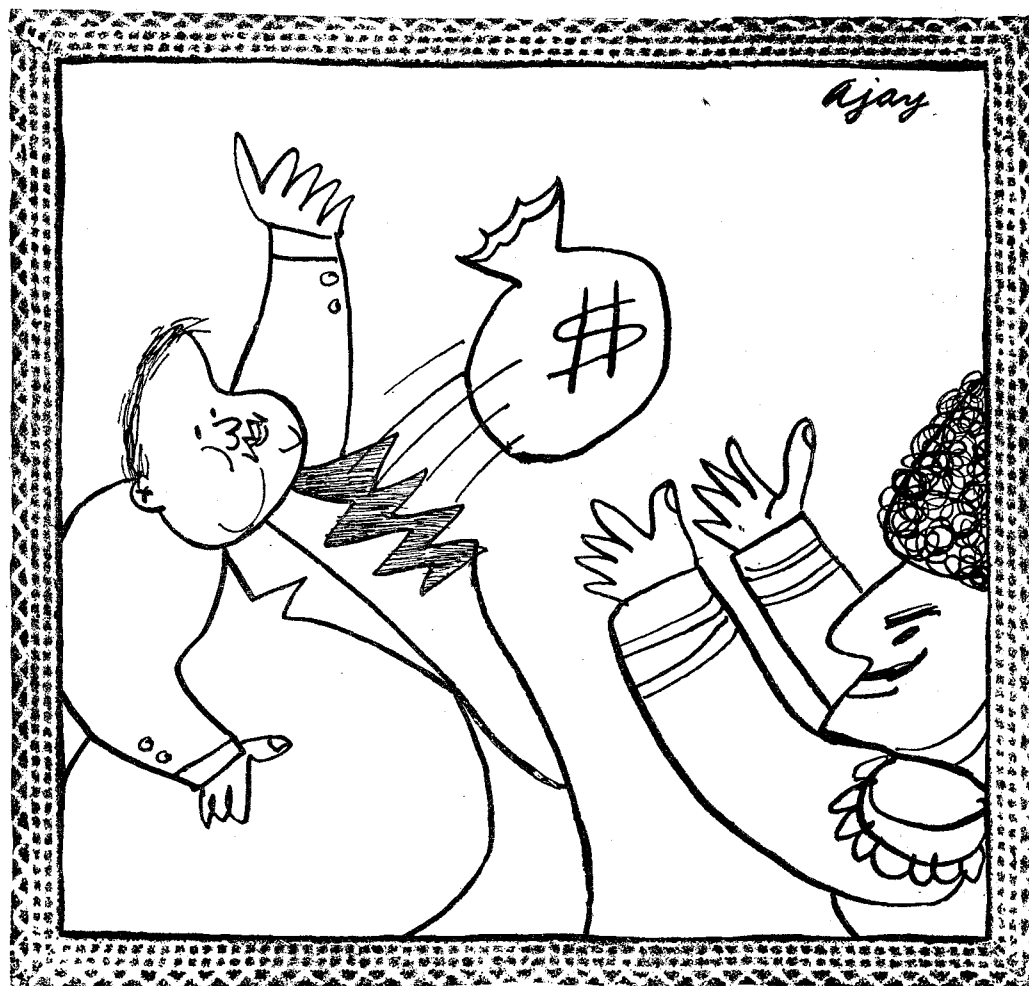
racy alive could only believe this—if they could see what monopolists do to democracy in the beautiful California orchards—they might really act to defend their heritage.

ELLA WINTER.

Public Opinion on Loans

IF THE Gallup poll is any barometer of public opinion, editorialists of the anti-Soviet press have nothing to crow about over its recent release. Only 58 percent of those queried favored an American loan to the Finns for non-military purposes. "The vote is by no means overwhelming," says Dr. Gallup.

As for a loan to give General Mannerheim military supplies, 61 percent of those queried were opposed. Most of this large majority insists that the United States ought not discriminate in favor of Finland; that loans may get us into war. Interesting confirmation and contrast to these figures comes from a poll conducted by the Akron, Ohio, *Beacon-Journal*. Eighty-eight percent of those queried in this important industrial community were against any loan for military supplies. Labor is even more emphatically opposed to the President's policy than Dr. Gallup's average man.



Dear Baron:
My heart goes out to you.
Herbie

A. Ajay

Washington Enters the War

Adam Lapin gives the facts which prove that the administration has already taken sides. Trying to stampede the people.

Washington.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE BERLE told one of his friends recently "The career boys in the State Department were right about Spain all along, and we were wrong. I don't hold any brief for Franco, but at least he'll probably stay neutral. Look what would have happened if the loyalists had won. Russia and Germany would have divided Spain between them."

So the New Dealers are beginning to recant even their ineffective sympathy for the Spanish people. In the pre-war era, administration figures from the President down could make powerful speeches denouncing fascist aggression while the government actually followed policies closely patterned after those of Chamberlain—so closely that in effect the United States aided Hitler and Mussolini. Now there is less room for political schizophrenia in foreign affairs. American foreign policy begins to assume a more distinctive and aggressive character. It is in fact a triumph for the "career boys." Reduced to its essentials, this foreign policy is to gain for American capitalism every advantage which can be wrested out of a war-torn world. It is to win world dominance, particularly in the Far East and Latin America, for American business and finance.

CONTRADICTIONS

However, the more definite shape of this foreign policy does not cover its profound contradictions. In both the Far East and Latin America, United States interests clash sharply with Great Britain's. At the same time American investments in the Allied empires are too vast for the government to countenance a German victory. The factor that links British and American imperialism, despite their conflicts, is their joint antagonism toward the Soviet Union. This anti-Soviet attitude is the key to the complexities of our present foreign policy.

The somnolence which has settled over Congress can only be explained by the fact that administration foreign policy is approved by all important sections of the ruling class. It is not challenged in any essential by the press or big business. Republicans and dissident Democrats may express differences on details (Tom Dewey's contribution is that the Soviet Union shouldn't have been recognized in the first place). But it probably won't matter much in terms of fundamental foreign policy whether the Republicans or the Democrats win the 1940 election.

In Latin America the United States has done well with the war situation. A complete statistical picture has not yet been put out by the Department of Commerce, but the available figures are revealing enough. In November 1939, American exports to

Brazil were \$10,608,000 as against \$5,143,000 for December 1938. A comparison for the same months showed that exports to Mexico jumped from \$5,143,000 to \$8,700,000; to Argentina, from \$6,814,000 to \$9,887,000; to Chile, from \$1,741,000 to \$3,625,000. For South America alone, excluding Mexico and the Central American countries, the total of American exports in these two months increased from \$23,310,000 to \$38,986,000. The total imports from South America over the same period increased from \$23,052,000 to \$37,053,000.

RIVAL IMPERIALISMS

These gains were made primarily at the expense of Germany, which is being shoved out of the Latin American market by the Allied blockade, and also to a certain extent at the expense of the British. Great Britain's attempt to retaliate is indicated by the stiff-necked attitude of Uruguay and Argentina over their reciprocal trade treaties with the United States. Since the war began, however, the United States has had the whiphand. Re-enactment of the Trade Treaty Act and extension of the Export-Import Bank's revolving credit fund, as suggested by the President in his plan to aid the Mannerheim regime, will strengthen this country's position.

According to the Commerce Department, the United States doesn't have anything to complain about in the Far East either. A recent report from the department says that the war has "greatly intensified Japan's dependence upon the United States, not only as a consumer of Japanese goods but as a supplier of essential materials." Since the invasion of China began, the United States has been Japan's chief source of war materials; this is more true today than ever. The 1939 Japanese-German trade agreement and the earlier Manchukuo-German trade pact would have lessened Japan's dependence on this country had it not been for the European war. In October German exports to Japan dropped 46.2 percent below their August level; exports from Great Britain declined 63.9 percent. The United States gained correspondingly: in October it supplied Japan with 43.7 percent of all her purchases abroad, as against 37.6 percent in August.

By this time it should be plain that our recent friction with Japan is not the product of State Department altruism. An American embargo against Japan would be catastrophic for Japanese economy; a virtual guarantee of Chinese victory. But in administration circles there is very little serious consideration of an immediate embargo. The United States is bargaining for a larger share in China's trade. In return for this it is willing to continue supplying Japan with essential mate-

rials. Senator Pittman's angry anti-Japanese statements reflect pressure politics—as well as the extent to which he has imbibed Mr. Garner's favorite liquid—rather than actual plans to aid China. The bargaining may result in certain piecemeal sanctions against Japan, even to temporary agreements to help China. It may also end in a gigantic sellout of Chinese independence, if Japan is willing to offer enough concessions.

The Soviet Union's importance as a factor in our Far Eastern policy has been hushed up in Washington to a large extent. Nothing has disturbed administration and business circles more than the growth of Soviet influence in the Far East. On the one hand, the Soviet Union has been the only great power consistently and effectively to aid the Chinese people. The Chinese are more likely to be grateful to the USSR for its material help than to the United States, whose expressions of sympathy are accompanied by large shipments of war materials to Japan. On the other hand, the Soviet Union has made use of Japan's manifold difficulties to force concessions out of her harassed warlords. Improved Soviet trade relations with Japan are a distinct possibility. The USSR is now in an extremely strong position in the Far East.

An attempt to disrupt Soviet relations with Japan is undoubtedly involved in Washington's recent anti-Japanese rumblings. Indeed, determination to dislodge the USSR from its major position in the Far East is an important aspect of the administration's anti-Soviet orientation. Roosevelt hopes that large-scale foreign aid to Finland will serve to distract the Soviet Union from the Far East.

AID TO FINLAND

The administration's new decisiveness in foreign policy is best illustrated by the speed of its action to make military planes and a \$10,000,000 Export-Import Bank loan available to the Mannerheim government. The President has been pushing hard from the outset to give funds to the Finns; Jesse Jones made the astonishing revelation last week that the Finns had asked for a \$60,000,000 loan, half of which would be for military supplies, three months before the Red Army marched. The idea of an outright sum from the Export-Import Bank's authorization is meeting opposition; but Pat Harrison's scheme for a private bond flotation is another way of achieving the same end. Perhaps the most shameful thing is the way the isolationist senators like Vandenberg of Michigan, Hiram Johnson of California, Robert La Follette of Wisconsin, and Hendrik Shipstead of Minnesota voted for the Finnish loan in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. And the most demagogic stunt is the way the administration has linked the possibility of a measly loan to China with the Finnish business. It's well known that the Chinese have asked for \$75,000,000. They won't get a third of that, if they get anything at all. Pretending to help China, the administration is really helping Mannerheim.

Friction between the USA and Great

Britain continues—at the same time that closer cooperation, against the Soviet Union, develops. The United States is making the best of its opportunities; it continues to squeeze the British in the Far East and Latin America. In that sense, the protests against British interference with our mail are not wholly shadow-boxing.

But for the time being, rivalry with the British of necessity takes second place in American foreign policy. The anti-Soviet orientation is more fundamental. As Great Britain pursues an increasingly aggressive anti-Soviet policy in the North via Scandinavia and in the Middle East via Turkey, the United States will be expected to follow suit—indeed, to give leadership. Another, more general factor operates to make this country the spearhead in a worldwide anti-Soviet front. Editorial writers for the Scripps-Howard papers and other publications show their appreciation of this factor when they urge the wealthy to beat back the “Red menace” in Finland. The United States is the largest and most powerful capitalist country in the world. As such, it stands in long-term conflict with the only socialist state. When American capitalism’s anti-Soviet interests are combined with increasingly profitable war trade with the Allies, no wonder the anti-British trend is overshadowed. American exports in December 1939 were 40 percent higher than in December 1938; more than half of the increase is accounted for by Allied purchases.

When is the United States expected to enter the war in a crusade against the “Godless Russians”? The answer depends on many military and economic factors which obviously cannot be predicted now. This country’s internal political situation and the extent of its anti-war movement will of course be a key factor. So will the Allies’ decision as to when they need our troops. But the United States is already in the war. The President recently told one of his visitors: “Mussolini has been a good boy so far. If he continues to be good, I can guarantee him Djibouti and Tunisia.” Direct military intervention would therefore be only a phase of the administration’s foreign policy. But long before that happens the people of this country will have their say. When the people’s answer swells to an even greater volume than it has reached today, Washington will hesitate. Foregone conclusions would be misleading.

ADAM LAPIN.

Smile, Smile, Smile

“**M**RS. [Carrie Chapman] Catt said immortality would be the reward of any woman who could evolve a way to abolish war. ‘If we had the right spirit we could destroy war with an idea.’ Mrs. Catt suggested that inasmuch as tears could settle nothing, war might be ended with humor, ‘if we are smart enough.’”—*New York Times*, January 25, reporting Washington Conference on the Cause and Cure of War.

The Detroit Raid

The old Palmer Raid technique is used in Detroit with cold injustice. An 1818 law is revived to attack democracy.

SOMEWHERE in the recesses of Wayne County Jail is a desperate criminal. It must be a very desperate criminal, for—consider the facts of the case.

Ordinary criminals, like Killer Dean of the Black Legion for example, are treated fairly decently at the jail. Dean enjoyed liquor and cigars, had a radio in his cell, and even entertained a lady visitor unbeknownst—so it was said—to the authorities. But then, Dean was only a Black Legion triggerman, who boasted of killing for the thrill of it.

Today the County Jail houses a criminal of an entirely different stripe. This one is kept in solitary confinement in an ice-cold cell, is permitted no visitors—not even closest relatives—and is one of the prize captures of the vaunted G-men, who swooped down at five in the morning to make their arrest.

The name of this desperate criminal is Mary Paige. Yes, she is a woman; well, hardly a woman—a kid, you might say. She wasn’t old enough in 1936 to vote for President Roosevelt. She has never been arrested before in her life. She does not know why she was arrested this time—routed out of her bed before dawn, though she could have been apprehended with the greatest of ease at any reasonable hour.

Some idea of what a menace the G-men consider her may be derived from the fact that she is held under \$10,000 bail, a figure usually reserved for crimes like homicide. Yet *nobody has yet told her of what she is accused.*

This much is known: the gangbusters’ dramatic capture of Mary Paige has something to do with American volunteers in Spain; and Mary, according to U. S. Attorney John C. Lehr who ordered her arrest, “is reputed to be a Communist sympathizer.” The law under which Mary is held was passed in 1818, says Lehr. It was a law warning “that no resident of this nation can recruit or aid in recruiting soldiers to serve a foreign nation.” If the charge does indeed relate to recruiting for defense of Spanish democracy some two years ago, the FBI’s long delay in pressing it may very possibly be due to the research necessary to uncover such an old and obscure law.

Besides Mary, ten others were arrested in Detroit, all at the same unholy hour of the morning. Two among them are reputable physicians of long-established practice. One of the victims thought that burglars were trying to force an entrance, and called the police. Another simply inquired who wanted him, and his door was smashed in.

Needless to say, none of the defendants have any clearer idea than Mary of the crime or crimes they are supposed to have committed. Four have bails as high as \$20,000.

All are American born; all are long-standing residents of Detroit—one has lived in the same house since the day he was born. Why was this high bail necessary?

Immediately after the arrests, which were conducted with Gestapo-like roughness—the victims were hurried into scanty clothing and their apartments ransacked—they were taken to FBI headquarters and grilled steadily from five in the morning until three in the afternoon. Their attorney was refused permission to see them. He was told rudely that he could “see them in court.” When he pointed out that, without an opportunity to talk to them, he could have no idea how they should plead, he was grudgingly given five minutes with the prisoners. G-men surrounded them during the conference.

Even in court the defendants did not learn the specific “crimes” with which they are charged, except for a vague accusation of “conspiracy” to violate the 1818 law. None of them of course had ever heard of this law. They were herded in groups, held on so many nameless “counts” in the indictment. The number of counts against each person corresponded rather closely with the number of times that person had been mentioned in testimony before the Dies committee.

Eight of the defendants have been taken to the Federal Penitentiary at Milan, Mich. There they are treated exactly like convicted prisoners. Only close relatives may visit them, and then but one hour a month.

If the government is in no great hurry to bring them to trial, they may languish in prison as long as eight or nine months. Thus, if they are ultimately proved innocent of any crime, they will still have served more than one-third the maximum sentence provided in that ancient 1818 law.

To free them will require \$110,000. It seems an almost impossible sum, but a committee has already been formed, pledged to raise it. The chairman is the distinguished University of Michigan professor of psychology, John C. Shepard. The treasurer is the Reverend Owen Knox, of the Civil Rights Federation, 1000 Hofmann Bldg., Detroit. A telegram to President Roosevelt from the Civil Rights Federation says:

All facts relative to this charge have been public property for over two years. In Detroit and elsewhere recruiting for Finland is now taking place. Three questions occur to persons interested in civil rights:

Are things being pulled out of the past to discredit and convict persons for present opinions? Are these raids being staged for the purpose of stirring up war sentiment? Is the present raid the beginning of a series of flagrant violations of civil rights similar to the Palmer raids?

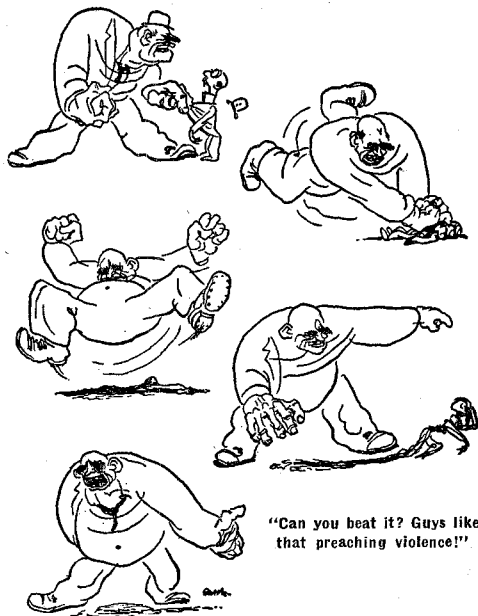
FRANCIS KEY.

Gropperana

WITH the fecundity of a Daumier or a Forain, Bill Gropper has been producing first-class art for over two decades. No drawing of his, no matter how slight or simple, lacks that sure, illuminating touch of genius that marks the artist's work on every occasion.

Since Bill Gropper has been drawing political cartoons, his lines have carried a double message. With a political mind as sure and clear as his eye and brush, his drawings for the *Liberator* and *NEW MASSES* have been milestones in the political struggles of the day. In troubled times, when mental fogs are spread about by thinkers of the Fifth Column, a Gropper cartoon shines through as clearly as an infra-red beacon.

James Dugan plays Gropper's Boswell on page 28 of this issue.



Law and Order

Liberator



New Masses (monthly)

Journey's End



Graduation Week

New Masses



Tax the Rich

New Masses



After Election

New Masses



Dies Investigates

New Masses



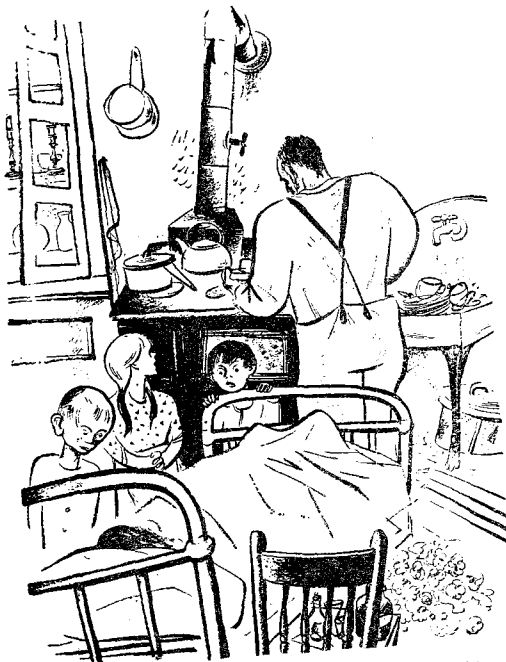
Congress

New Masses



Neville Chamberlain

New Masses



Another Kid New Masses (monthly)



Over the Body of Manchuria New Masses (monthly)



Huey Long

New Masses



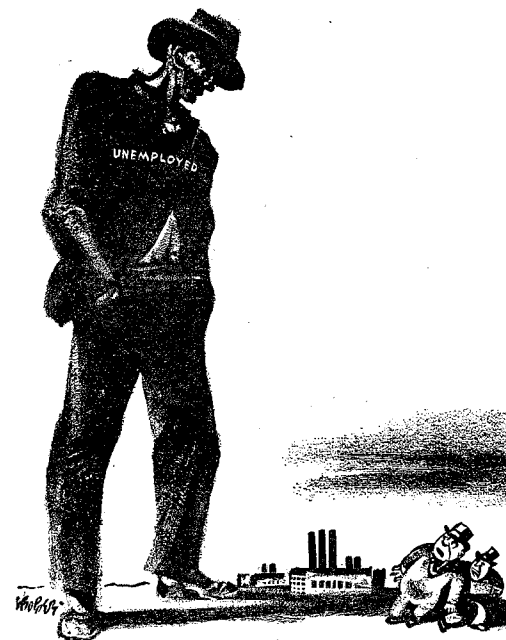
The World We Live In

New Masses



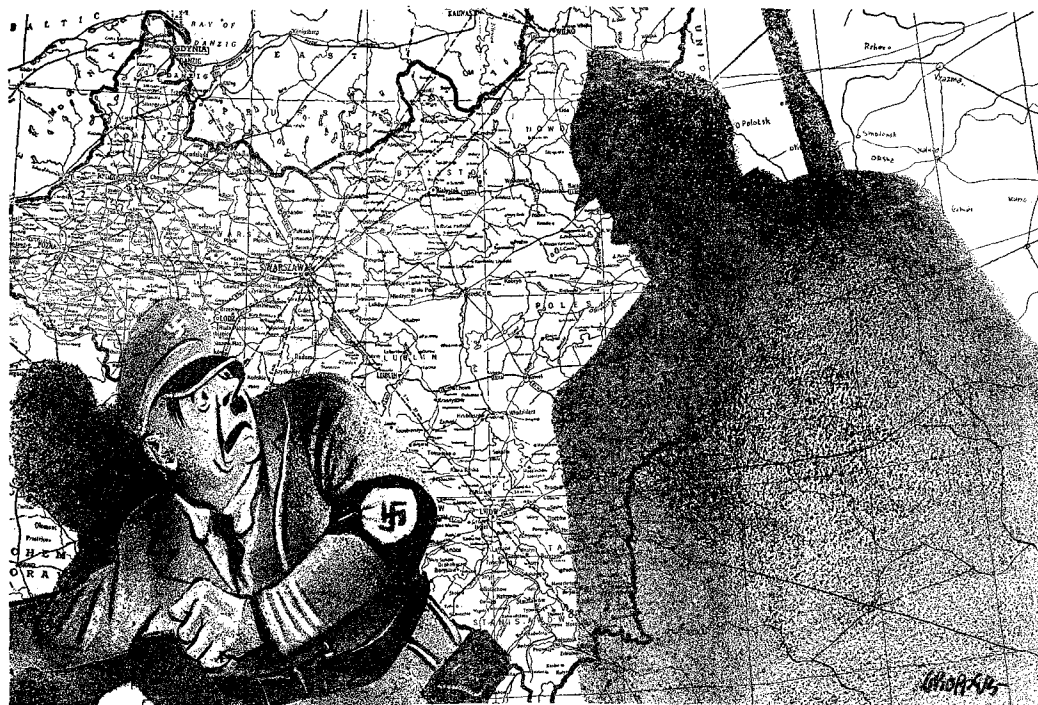
Expelling the CIO

New Masses



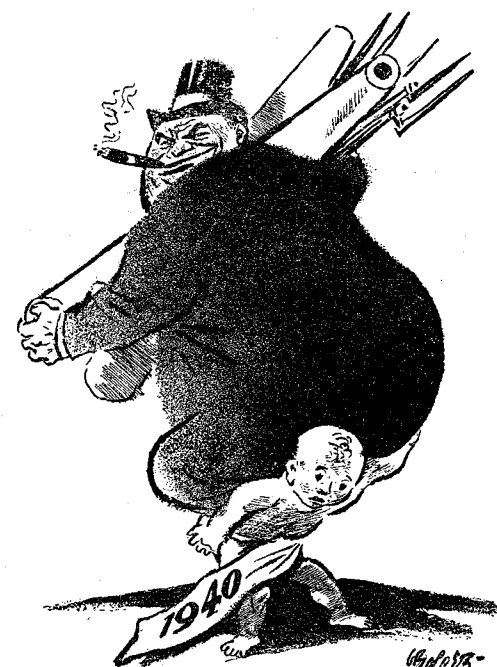
The Unemployed

New Masses



Hitler Changes His Mind

New Masses



The New Year

New Masses

Were You for Spain?

AN EDITORIAL

THE heroes of the FBI made a great catch last week. They captured a wounded veteran of the Spanish loyalist forces, the American volunteer Robert Taylor. They arrested nine more Detroiters for the heinous crime of aiding republican Spain. Heroically, the federal agents moved through the night, before dawn, with crowbar and hatchet. They smashed through the door of one of the defendants. They threw a twenty-three-year-old woman in a freezing cell, held her incommunicado for hours. Oh, it was a great day for Attorney General Jackson's men.

We said last week the witch hunt was on. We said, too, that the "rack and screw are not used—at least, not yet—and the silk glove covers the mailed fist." We were right about the hunt, but since the editorial was written, the glove has been removed from the fist. The events in Detroit have dated our editorial.

The Michigan activities of the FBI, described on page 15 of this issue, took place in the best Palmer Red-raid tradition. Remember the assurances a month or so ago when the then Attorney General Murphy made weekly statements to the press fervidly pledging there would be no Red-raid tactics, everything would be done clean and aboveboard? Ironically enough the most flagrant of the Red-raid tactics of 1940 occurred in Mr. Murphy's home bailiwick, Detroit. Is Mr. Murphy out to prove to the hilt progressives' charges that he has gone over to the most shameless reaction? And the present Attorney General Jackson? Is he aspiring to fill Murphy's shoes to the measure? Does he stand committed for these brutal raids? To date he has kept his silence.

These Detroit raids indicate a change in the government's tactics. The administration is moving in frantic haste, throwing aside the niceties. It had obviously planned to carry through its proceedings with a showy "adherence" to the letter of the law. Technicalities were diligently sought; nothing too flimsy on the books was ignored. But the Michigan events show an extension of FDR's tactics. His authorities came with crowbar and ax; arrested citizens in before-dawn raids when they could have taken every one of the eleven during the day, or at their offices. But they preferred to come in the dead of night, like Storm Troopers, and snatch their prey. Men were shackled to one another: exorbitant bail demanded—as high as \$20,000—the defendants hauled to a federal prison farm at Milan, Mich., where they would be allowed visitors only once a month for one hour or twice monthly for thirty minutes each time. And, of course, none of these men have been convicted, or even tried.

And what was the pretext for this action? A rusty law dug up from statutes as far back as 1818—122 years ago. What was the alleged crime? They helped democratic Spain. They are charged with "recruiting" for a foreign power.

The gall of the whole business is that these proceedings occur little over a week since President Roosevelt turned into Recruiting Sergeant No. 1 for Baron Mannerheim. Americans, the President said for all in America to hear, are free to volunteer for service in foreign armies without loss of citizenship provided they take no oath of allegiance to the belligerent country. He said

that although foreign nations are prohibited from campaigning for enlistments, there was nothing to prevent Americans from inquiring, for example, at the Finnish legation with regard to service with the Finnish army.

Aid to the White Guards in Finland is heroic action; aid to republican Spain is rewarded by shackles and calumny. That is where the administration has gone!

Meanwhile the authorities continue their harassment of the friends of democratic Spain. FBI agents sit in the offices of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade searching Hawkshaw-like through filing cabinets, allegedly seeking information for the whereabouts of a Manny Cohen, also charged with the crime of "recruiting for loyalist Spain." The authorities are interfering with the work of the veterans at the very time these finest of America's youth are carrying on a campaign to free eight of their number still held in Franco's prison camps. And further arrests are promised.

A question that must occur to the hundreds of thousands and millions of Americans who aided republican Spain is this: where will the FBI draw the line? What about those who helped Spain during the three years of its Golgotha? When will the crowbar and hatchet brigades hammer down the doors of those who sent milk to the Spanish children? Or those who organized the Village Fair, for instance, to aid Spain? It is high time for all who favored Spain—the liberal magazines—the *Nation*, the *New Republic*, all who threw some measure of support to the war for democracy—to speak up—to speak out. The Veterans are part of our greatest tradition. Shall those who nurtured that greatness be thrown into penitentiaries for their democratic zeal?

Of course, the nation is not taking it lying down. The Wayne County Industrial Council of the CIO unanimously sent a telegram of protest to President Roosevelt, Attorney General Jackson, and to Congress. The Michigan Civil Rights Federation also protested to the President and received a reply that "there was no violation of civil rights in the procedure of the arrests." No violation of civil rights!

But isn't the picture clear now for all who have eyes to see? The administration is plunging toward war so fast it is losing its balance. It is moving like Daladier's "democracy" which outlawed the Communist Party, which threw anti-fascist German and Italian refugees into hellish concentration camps equal to those into which the French regime has herded the heroes of republican Spain. Our administration is arresting men who helped democratic Spain in its epochal battle against the German and Italian invaders. The government is harboring, nurturing the swarms of British, French, and Finnish White Guard agents who are diligently laboring to involve this nation in the European imperialist war.

But by every token dear to the American people, this nation does not want to go to war. It had its fill of imperialist war in 1914-18. America's 130,000,000 are overwhelmingly opposed to going "over there" this time for the sake of the Herbert Hoover compatriots.

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Anti-Soviet Fever

REP. EDOUARD IZAC, Republican, of California understands what is going on in the world. Speaking on the resolution to withdraw the American ambassador from Moscow, the congressman shouted: "We should stop Russia where she should be stopped—on the Karelian Isthmus. That is where our frontier is." If this were true, the conclusions follow logically, as Mr. Izac himself deduced when he urged the United States "to send guns, destroyers, and a few submarines and airplanes" to aid the Finns.

Izac may be a crackpot. But he is clearly calling for American participation in the most criminal of all possible wars, a war against the Soviet Republics. That would be laughable, were it not increasingly clear that the Roosevelt administration is deliberately fanning anti-Soviet agitation to fever heat for exactly this aim.

Who is there that now fails to see the portent of these events? Who is there that can refrain from sounding the alarm against the policies of the New Ordeal? The President has joined with Chamberlain in encouraging volunteers for Finland. He has sent Sumner Welles to England, France, Germany, and Italy—the omission of the USSR is significant—to promote the kind of "peace" that anti-Soviet war requires.

Newspapers admit that England will not intervene in Finland in the same sense that Germany and Italy did not "intervene" against republican Spain! And why not? Lord Plymouth, of the infamous "non-intervention" committee, heads the Finnish relief collections in London. Is it not fitting to recognize Mannerheim as the Franco of Finland?

The strategy of the Allies involves primarily the encirclement of Germany. They would like to put the squeeze on that country, detach her from friendship toward the Soviet Union, bring her back into their control. For the tory statesmen fear that unless they control Germany, Europe will be lost before this war is over. Pressure upon the Soviets conveniently serves a similar purpose. General Weygand's army suddenly appears in the Middle East; Soviet newspapers have been watching that for months. Editors rejoice that the Turks have taken over the Krupp shipyards with the cry: "Spring is coming." Rumania calls her men to the colors for April 1. America is the key: without the initiative of the United States, the Allies could not seriously hope to

achieve their objectives. Yes, the frontiers of imperialism lie on the Karelian Isthmus. That is *precisely* why the American people should not defend them.

Hull Throws a Stone

SECRETARY HULL's letter to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee charging the Soviet government with having broken its pledges to the United States has the effect of further stoking the fires of anti-Soviet war. But even with the worst intentions in the world, Hull's case against the USSR is very feeble stuff. The most important incident cited occurred four and a half years ago. In August 1935 the Roosevelt administration—under pressure of Hearst, as Hull omits to say—protested because of the convening of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International.

By the Roosevelt-Litvinov agreements of November 1933 the Soviet government promised not to permit the activity within its territory of organizations, groups, or individuals seeking the overthrow of the government of the United States. The congress of the Communist International did not in any respect constitute such activity, and the Soviet government properly rejected the American protest. The fact is that the USSR has had far more reason to protest on this score than has the United States. The obligations assumed in the Roosevelt-Litvinov agreements were reciprocal. Yet the Roosevelt administration has permitted any number of organizations and individuals to operate in the United States with the avowed aim of overthrowing the Soviet government. One such example is the miniature Russian fascist army which the White Guard Russian, Anatole Vonsiatsky (married to an American heiress) has organized in Connecticut where his estate has been converted into a veritable arsenal. It was, moreover, the State Department itself and Ambassador Bullitt that brought into this country a notorious plotter against the USSR, Shmelka Ginsberg, alias "General Krivitsky," sheltering him for months. Somebody ought to inform Secretary Hull that he is living in a very glass house.

La Belle France

DESPITE the French censorship, details of the escape of the ruthless rampage of the Daladier regime. In Paris, the following non-Communist organs have been suppressed: *L'Homme Libre*, *La Justice*, *La Fleche*, *Le Combat Syndicaliste*, *La Libertaire*, *La Revolution Proletarienne*, *Le Reveil Syndicaliste*. Offices of the French counterpart to the British Independent Labor Party, the PSOP, have been closed. Soviet tourist and business offices have been raided, employees arrested. Colonial offices in Paris have been shut down; leading colonials in France and in the colonies have been prosecuted on charges of "espionage."

While French liberal writers have "disappeared" from the scene, German liberals have

been locked in a concentration camp at Vernat, compelled to work in stone quarries. Gustav Regler, Robert Leonhard, the Austrian Bruno Frey, Walter Mehring, Dr. Hermann Budzislowski, and many others are interned there. Paul Froehlich, biographer of Rosa Luxemburg, has been imprisoned. Friedrich Wolff, author of the anti-Nazi *Professor Mamlock*, has been rearrested. The scientist Theodore Balk, enemy of Nazi racist theories, is also in the concentration camp. The International Writers Association, founded by Barbusse and Malraux, has been dissolved. A number of Czechoslovakian and Sudeten artists have been arrested and the Czechoslovakian Cultural Center, opened in August, closed. Hans Marchwitz, proletarian writer from the Ruhr, is in a prison for criminals. Feuchtwanger and Leonhard Frank have just been freed.

The arrest and detention of refugees from the Hitler regime makes a mockery of Daladier's war against Hitlerism. But we now have the evidence to prove that all this was contemplated *weeks and weeks before the war began*. In the French "Yellow Book," official diplomatic documents being circulated by the French Consulate, M. Bonnet discloses his own conversation with Count von Welczeck, German ambassador to Paris, on July 1, 1939:

I told the ambassador that he would find (in case of war) that a national unity movement would be created to back the government. Elections would be suspended, public meetings halted, attempts to disseminate foreign propaganda suppressed no matter where they originated, and the Communists made to see the light.

In other words, before the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, before the French Communists could possibly be considered "self-confessed" allies of any enemy, the great "democracy" of France was preparing to destroy democracy in the name of democracy! Where is the Jonathan Swift who will do justice to this enormous irony and hypocrisy of our time?

Military Communique

THE American press has so discredited itself in the reporting of Finnish news that one can no longer even read between the lines with a measure of certainty. The Salla front, perhaps the most important of all, has dropped out of sight. Great battles which the Finnish High Command reported north of Lake Ladoga must have been exaggerated, as a Soviet communique recently observed; else, the Finns have suffered "severe reverses," one British report discloses. Reverses for Mannerheim don't rate space. Newspaper columns are literally ghost-ridden by now: the bombing of Kronstadt zoomed in and out of the headlines; a full Soviet division was reported "trapped" at Kitelae—what came of that? And what ever happened to the town of Pitkeranta, which the Finns snatched from behind Soviet lines?

In NEW MASSES for February 13, Major Allen Johnson emphasized the general Soviet

pressure on all fronts. Just what the degree of this pressure is remains unclear this week. In the north, Soviet troops are reported advancing down the excellent Arctic highway toward Ivalo; in conjunction with their dominating positions beyond Salla, it seems that the decisive reach for Rovaniemi, the important railhead leading to the tip of the Bothnian gulf, may be near.

Around and below Suomussalmi, pressure continues against rail communication running north and south. Above Lake Ladoga, the same strategy jibes with Red Army incursions into the Mannerheim zone. Soviet communiques in the past week reported the capture of many forts in the zone, apparently as part of a thrust toward Summa, the town on the Viborg highway.

Bombardments of seacoast towns and railheads where military supplies accumulate continued for the past fifteen days. The New York *Herald Tribune* amazed us last week in its editorial of February 6 which says: "The Russians appear to be following conventional practice and concentrating their air power, *not primarily against civilians' morale*, but against 'legitimate' targets of ports, rail junctions, and industrial areas behind the lines." Quotes around "legitimate" belong to the *Tribune*, italics are ours.

It would be hazardous to say whether the climax of Soviet operations is approaching. But it is clear that Finnish strength has been sapped to the point where only intervention from abroad can prolong the conflict.

The Vote for Browder

EARL BROWDER finished third in the 14th Congressional District election. But in relation to his party's showing in the past he finished first. The Communist vote was the only one that showed a proportionate gain over 1938. The 3,080 votes cast for Browder represented an increase from 11.6 percent of the total to 13.6 percent. In contrast, the 12,962 votes of M. Michael Edelstein, the successful Tammany candidate, constituted a proportionate drop of 12 percent. The Republican Party merely managed to hold its own.

The New York *World-Telegram*, in commenting on the results of the election, described the Communist vote as "the most remarkable showing the party has made in this city. Its previous record for congressman was in 1936 when, with the largest registration, it obtained 1,811 votes; whereas, yesterday, with only 65 percent of the registered voters going to the polls, the party rolled up almost twice as many."

Browder had to campaign not only against the well oiled Tammany machine, but the endorsement of Edelstein by such men as Senator Wagner, Lieutenant Governor Poletti, and Mayor La Guardia, who in the past have been identified with liberal policies. Under these circumstances the fact that the Democratic vote declined 12 percent, while the Communist vote increased, is a rebuke to the Roosevelt administration, specifically for its

persecution of Communists and drive toward war. The Republicans' failure to profit from the Democratic loss shows that the voters of the 14th Congressional District are beginning to grope their way in a new direction. The Browder vote is of national significance. It may well prove an important milestone on the road toward a new political alignment of all who stand for peace and democracy.

Civil Liberties for Whom?

THE American Civil Liberties Union has decided to have its face lifted. It was born in 1919 to combat the Red raids and suppression of civil liberties in the post-war hysteria. It now celebrates its coming of age by assisting the new drive against civil liberties that is part of a mounting pre-war hysteria.

The national committee and board of directors of the ACLU have voted to bar Communists and supporters of the Soviet government from its governing committees and its staff. The resolution also excludes Nazis and fascists, but this is transparent window-dressing. The ACLU has, in fact, as the minority statement points out, started "a species of Red hunt." This can only encourage similar attacks on democratic rights in every sphere of American life. Perhaps it is only a coincidence that within a couple of days after the passage of the ACLU resolution, bills were introduced in the New York State Legislature to bar Communists from holding public jobs, including elective office, and to prevent the American Student Union from using school buildings for meetings. Both these anti-democratic measures are in the spirit of the Civil Liberties Union resolution.

The reactionary press has hailed this stultification of liberalism and elementary democracy. The fact is, it is the reactionaries who dictated this action. The membership of the American Civil Liberties Union was not consulted; it has no voice in the election of the self-perpetuating clique at the head of the organization. The source of inspiration for the anti-Communist purge was revealed by none other than Martin Dies in an article in the January 27 issue of *Liberty*. He told of a meeting he had last October with Morris Ernst and Arthur Garfield Hays of the ACLU and with several New Deal officials. It was agreed, according to Dies, that "the real liberals of the country should take a definite stand against Communism." The leaders of the American Civil Liberties Union have betrayed civil liberties.

Pelley Loves Dies

WILLIAM DUDLEY PELLEY's wooing of the Dies committee, and the committee's frantic gestures of embarrassment, is comedy that calls for the pen of a Congreve. It is difficult to say on which side are the biggest knaves. For months Pelley, fuhrer of the terroristic Silver Shirts, is supposed to have been in hiding while the Dies committee was

presumably looking for him high and low. On February 6, up pops Pelley out of nowhere, just in time to save the fair name of the Dies committee by branding as forgeries letters linking him with the chairman. Then in testimony before the committee this notorious fascist and anti-Semite tells that body it is doing precisely the kind of work that the Silver Shirts was organized to do. And he tops it off with a fervent "God bless the Dies committee."

Pelley's testimony is the most damaging evidence against the Dies committee. It is, in fact, far more impressive than anything contained in the forged letters. It definitely brands the Dies committee's activities as fascist and un-American. His testimony points up the question already raised by the forged letters episode: what are the real relations between Pelley and the Dies committee? Who brought Pelley out of hiding in order to clear Dies? Who put Pelley's former agent, David Mayne—more recently on the Dies committee payroll—up to the job of forging letters and selling them to the committee's opponents?

Apart from the Pelley tieup, there is the question of Martin Dies' connections with the Christian Front. The evidence presented by Representative Hook of Michigan on this point has not been challenged. Will the administration help Dies crawl out of his dilemma?

God and the Unions

"WE must bring God back into government," says "The Church and Social Order" statement of the National Catholic Welfare Conference issued last week. It continued: "we must bring God back into education; we must bring God back into economic life . . ." The God referred to, of course, is Franco's God, whose sentiments and ways are interpreted by the Roman Catholic Church. No other Gods need apply.

The results of God in Government we have already seen in Franco's Spain, in Portugal, and Poland. They are not impressive. God in education has not even benefited the Catholic parochial school system, which has been steadily declining in the United States through the apathy of its religious supporters.

It is not necessary to go overseas to witness the dissolution of the German Catholic trade unions under Hitler's church-supported regime or the fate of Catholic economics under the Vatican's friend Mussolini. In New York City a strike has been going on for months: the Diamond Candle Co., Inc., refuses to bargain collectively with its employees and their union. The strikers are backed by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, a church-supported group which advocates the same principles of "God in economic life" as the hierarchy upholds. The Diamond Candle Co., Inc., is an important supplier of devotional candles used on the altars of the Catholic Church. The hierarchy which urges support for the strikers continues to buy scab candles with which to pray for "economic justice on God's plan."

The State of the Union

THIS DEPARTMENT, which NEW MASSES presents weekly, is the joint work of a group of correspondents who send us a letter each week telling about the state of their part of the nation. As more correspondents write in, our coverage will increase. We invite our readers to send their contributions of significant happenings, anecdotes, etc., to "The State of the Union," NEW MASSES.

Taft's Disease

MIAMI, FLA.—Sen. Robert Taft, Ohio's gift to the nation, addressed a small and shivering gathering in Miami's Bayfront Park on Saturday night, Feb. 3. Liberal Miamians are left wondering at his opening words. He greeted his hearers with praise for having "risked disease" to come down and hear him. The question that confronts Miamians is whether he had reference to the weather or to the Republican virus that has already done its worst in Taft's home state.

Okay KKK

OKLAHOMA CITY.—A man on a white horse appeared in Oklahoma City last week and, minus his horse and his mask, proclaimed to the populace that he had become the new guardian of Americanism. Out to "educate the people to appreciate the American form of government and to fight un-American activities," the new apostle of Americanism identified himself as James A. Colescott, the Atlanta imperial wizard of that super-patriotic organization, the Ku Klux Klan.

Here to mend his organization's torn linen, worn on special "Americanization" days, the weasely wizard warned that Communism was spreading as rapidly here in the capital city and in Tulsa as in the metropolis of the East. The KKK imperial lizard (as he has been nicknamed) pompously informed the press that "we are attempting to arouse an intensified patriotism and point out the advantages of this government over the Nazi, fascist, and Russian systems."

As proof of his 99 44/100 percent pure patriotism, the wizard said that he had been consorting with and giving information to that other sterling guardian of Americanism, Rep. Martin Dies. He praised Dies for doing a "splendid job" of investigating un-American forces in the nation. No, the wizard said, his organization had not been investigated by the Dies committee.

Conversation in Toledo

TOLEDO.—Two hundred employees of Northwestern Ohio Natural Gas Co. & Ohio Fuel Co., monopolizers of gas supply here, struck February 1 for bona fide union contract, recognition of union, seniority rights, pay hike when company patches rate structure with city authorities. Rates here are now about highest in state.

Strikers are members of Local 12024, Gas & Byproducts Workers Division No. 50, United Mine Workers of America. Organized three years ago, the union has been working on an

"accord" with the company. The following conversation took place recently in Safety Building here.

Mr. E. M. Tharp, vice-pres. of Ohio Fuel Co.: We are willing to sign an "accord" the same as we have operated under for the last three years. Our attorneys tell us an "accord" is just as binding as a contract.

Mr. Applebaum (union representative): Well, why then did you refuse to sign a contract? We agreed to waive all questions involved in these negotiations pending the outcome of your rate negotiations with the city.

Mr. DeAngelo (city safety director): Well, what's the difference between a contract and an accord?

Mr. Tharp: An accord is a statement of policy or a set of rules. It is a written document with terms or rules set forth. We have been working harmoniously under it for three years.

Mr. Applebaum: Well then, why do you object to a contract?

Mr. Tharp: I don't know except that the union wanted it so badly, we are suspicious of it.

M-Day Any Day

TOLEDO, OHIO.—Associated Press reports that the framework of a department for the manufacture of 75 mm. shell casings is being set up in the Willys-Overland Motor plant here.

Said President Joseph W. Frazer of the Willys-Overland company: "We were asked to get into shape for the manufacture of casings so we could go into immediate production if the need should arise. . . . We're not going into the munitions business unless we are called upon to do so by the government."

That Printer's Devil

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—On January 20, the Providence Journal printed an excerpt from Vincent Sheean's article in *Current History* in which he rehashes his astonishment that Stalin should have ever believed that some European nations ever had designs on the USSR. Following Mr. Sheean's Churchillian apologetic, the mischievous makeup man of the Journal ran the following item: "Natural History Note (Los Angeles Times). The most disliked bird in the world is a pigeon of the stool variety."

Relief from Relief

NEW HAVEN, CONN.—Governor Baldwin of Connecticut let out a blat on Jan. 29 urging that people "quit this everlasting emphasis upon relief and put the emphasis back where it really belongs—upon unemployment!"

We Know, We Know

PITTSBURGH, PA.—A reader of the Pittsburgh Press dug up the following quote from Ambassador William Bullitt's report to the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Sept. 12, 1919: "It is worthy of note that in the White terror in southern Finland alone, according to official figures, General Mannerheim executed without trial twelve thousand working men and women."

A Pittsburgh collector for Finnish relief, when

confronted with this statement, is reported to have said, "That's what I keep telling them down at the office."

Il Duce Cartwheels

NEW YORK CITY.—Help Finland Cabaret in the grand ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria last week attracted one thousand socialites under distinguished patronage. Mrs. James Roosevelt, mother of the President, was among the boxholders. One of the most striking decorative effects was a mammoth cartwheel composed of twenty-four alternating emblems of France, England, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Italy, and the United States. Notice the presence of the Italian flag.

Capital Offenses

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Leni Riefenstahl's movie of the Nazi Olympics is now running at the Belasco Theater, Washington, D. C., as a benefit for the Finnish Relief Fund. All good Nazi supporters rally around.

The Washington Post for Jan. 28, 1940, runs the following caption under a six column picture of a fashionable sledding party: "Off for a sleigh ride—in the front seat we see Mrs. William G. Symmers, formerly Marina R. Baruch, niece of Bernard Baruch; Mrs. Hugo Fischer, wife of Commander Fischer, USN, holding their attractive son, Lindsay; and on the back seat we have, left to right, Mrs. W. C. Bond, Mrs. Robert G. Shorter, and Frau Hans Thomsen, wife of the counselor of the German Embassy. . . ." Nothing like a sleigh ride to get all the delightful details about anti-Semitic atrocities in Germany and Poland from official sources.

HR Agricultural Appropriations Bill 8202 provides that "no part of the funds appropriated by this act shall be used for laboratory investigations to determine the possibly harmful effects on human beings of spray insecticides on fruits and vegetables."

Labor Spies: \$20 per Week

DETROIT.—Detroiters are walking around with a worried look on their faces these days since the arrest of a group of Spanish republican sympathizers on an 1818 law. They're not sure that any night the G-men might not pounce on them and throw them into prison for failure to pay that old stamp tax to King George III.

A recently published letter throws interesting light on another activity of the G-men in the motor city. The writer says, "About three weeks before Christmas I put in my application with the FBI in Detroit, and I was pleased with my interview, and my history of my life was good enough to produce a promise of placing me in a factory, but at no specific date. . . . I applied to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for work fighting sabotage or anything else, partly because I felt I was good for something, but mostly to feel I was helping my country; \$20 per week would look like big money to me right now." Curiously enough, twenty a week is what Pinkerton and Corporations Auxiliary used to pay for this type of work—until the La Follette committee made some unpleasant exposures.

A Report to the "Stockholders" of New Masses

THE inauguration of each new sustaining fund drive for NEW MASSES invariably brings with it a number of friendly, critical letters questioning the unique condition of a magazine which loses money each year, and must annually appeal to its readers to pitch in and cover the deficit.

"Why don't you prune your expenses?" one reader asks. Another complains: "Other magazines in the weekly field never call for financial support. Are they more successful publishing ventures than NEW MASSES?" Still another wants to know: "Is there no end to your financial problems? Why don't you conduct an extensive high-pressure drive to build up your circulation to the point where NEW MASSES will be self-sustaining?"

In answer to these questions, and as a contribution towards the closer and more intimate association of our reader-"stockholders" and the working staff of NEW MASSES, I'd like to submit the following report. Here's the inside story of how our common venture operates. I invite comment from our readers.

INCOME AND EXPENSES

Like all business enterprises, a magazine buys and sells commodities and services. NEW MASSES sells subscriptions, bundles (to distributors, agents, and newsstands), and advertising space. Every dollar of NEW MASSES income may be broken down as follows: 50 cents for subscriptions, 33 cents for bundle sales, and 17 cents for advertising space. NEW MASSES buys the services of its editors, a business manager, circulation and promotion, and technical workers; printing, paper, wrapping, mailing, engraving, postage; rent, telephone, cables, telegrams, stationery, typewriters, etc. The first category of expenses—services—accounts for 23 cents of every dollar of NEW MASSES outlay. The second category, what may be termed "direct publication costs," accounts for 47 cents. The third, known as "indirect costs," accounts for 30 cents of each dollar expended.

These figures, based upon the report of a certified accountant for the calendar year 1939, reveal that NEW MASSES spends \$1 every 77 cents it receives from the sale of subscriptions, bundles, and advertising space. This excess of expenses over income resulted in a deficit of \$24,464.05 for 1939.

Now, the reader may justifiably ask: "assuming that you are selling as much as you possibly can, isn't it possible to reduce expenses?" Well, let's see whether we're spending too much money on things that we buy. How about salaries? The average wage for

those NEW MASSES editors who are paid is \$25-\$30 per week. Compared to the prevalent wage of from \$50-\$150 per week for similar work on other publications, obviously no savings can be realized here. On the contrary, our editors are grossly underpaid. They continue their work only because of their devotion to the enterprise. Our technical staff gets the average wage of \$21 per week, the minimum required by their trade union.

The paper on which NEW MASSES is printed is the cheapest obtainable. We call it "butcher paper" and dream of the day when we can change to a coated stock. Even this cheap magazine newsprint has jumped in price by 12.5 percent since the war. Our printing and other publication costs have been carefully checked with competitive prices. They compare favorably, considering our credit limitations.

Careful analysis of costs and income has conclusively demonstrated that the key to solving the deficit problem, short of an annual fund drive, is the sale of advertising space. It is a publishing axiom that the commercial press subsists and thrives on advertising alone. It costs several times as much as the publishers actually get for the 5-cent *Saturday Evening Post*, *Liberty*, and *Colliers* or the 10-cent *Life*, figuring the cost of services, paper, printing, and distribution. Yet, these losses are easily absorbed by the advertising income, leaving huge profits for the owners. The back page of the *Satevepost* sells for \$16,000—sufficient to cover the cost of seven issues of NEW MASSES.

ADVERTISING BOYCOTT

There is an undeclared, but undeniable, boycott of advertisers against NEW MASSES. Not a single national advertiser will place an ad in our publication. Nor is it because of our limited circulation. The *Nation*, the *New Republic*, and a score of other magazines with a circulation approximating NEW MASSES' receive full page ads from General Electric and Bell Telephone. But NEW MASSES, despite repeated solicitation, has not succeeded in selling these accounts. The book publishing companies, with one or two honorable exceptions, have likewise effectively banned NEW MASSES as an advertising medium. Even the most progressive books, which our readers undoubtedly purchase, are not advertised in our pages. Advertising for motion pictures, such as *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* and *The Grapes of Wrath*, is similarly excluded from our pages. Our advertising sales are limited to small local businesses which

have no political bias against us. They have found that our readers are extremely loyal to NEW MASSES advertisers. Many letters of appreciation have come into our office from these advertisers, praising the results obtained through their ads in these pages.

It will be observed that only 17 percent of our income is derived from advertising. Recently I had occasion to discuss business problems with the manager of a group of commercial magazines. I learned that 40 percent of his income comes from the sale of advertising space. When I asked, "What would happen if only 17 percent of your income was from advertising?" he replied immediately, "We'd go under."

The undeclared advertising boycott against NEW MASSES is the basic cause of our annual deficit. As long as we continue our uncompromising editorial fight for democracy and progress, as long as we continue to conduct a campaign against war, as long as we educate our readers in the spirit of socialism, there is little likelihood that this boycott will be lifted.

Our readers alone can keep us alive and fighting. Our readers alone can fill the annual gap between income and expense, both by winning new NEW MASSES readers and by doing their bit during financial campaigns.

NON-COMMERCIAL WEEKLIES

But what of the other liberal weeklies? They aren't the commercial press. They must have problems of keeping alive. Why don't they ever open their pages to financial appeals?

Yes, these publications do have financial problems, we surmise, despite their larger volume of advertising. It's no secret that their editors earn substantially more than our own. Their offices are much more elaborate. They pay for manuscripts; NEW MASSES would like to. Their expenses are very much greater than ours. Consequently, their annual deficits must be several times that of NEW MASSES. What keeps them alive, what keeps them from shouting "We who are about to die salute you!"? The answer is extraordinarily simple. It will not be considered improper to say that these magazines are privately subsidized, by individuals and foundations. That accounts, in part, for the even tenor of their existence.

NEW MASSES would welcome such serenity. We have been conducting the search for years. We have not yet discovered an "angel" in the form of a philanthropic organization or a wealthy individual who would assume our financial burdens and leave to us the delightful task of editing the magazine.

No, we have been compelled to distribute

our problems among thousands of little "angels," each of whom makes a sacrifice when he sends in his modest contribution. Thousands of our readers have pooled their resources to keep NEW MASSES alive. The magazine was founded as the *Masses* in 1911 with the financial backing of the vice-president of the New York Life Insurance Co. This fortunate one-man support permitted the magazine to use coated paper, colored covers, and sell for 5 cents per copy. Today we owe our existence to thousands, to their devotion year after year. We consider ourselves most fortunate. It's good to be alive and in the fight!

CUTTING EXPENSES

So each year we have petitioned our readers for a "deficiency appropriation." From 1934 to 1939, we failed to raise each year a sum sufficient to cover that year's deficit. During this period we accumulated a deficit of \$50,000 consisting of accounts and loans payable, including a debt to our readers in the form of unexpired subscriptions. The loans were obtained from readers, banks, and friendly organizations. In 1939 we determined to make a special effort to arrest this alarming trend of an expanding deficit. We were substantially successful! Here is how we did it.

During 1939 we sold more subscriptions and newsstand copies, primarily because of the improved quality of the magazine, especially as regards the war. The Spivak series on Coughlin, aided by an extensive promotion campaign, brought us thousands of new readers. In the same period we reduced our expenses by more than \$5,000 as compared with 1938. This was accomplished in several ways: cutting our print orders to conform more closely to our actual circulation needs, thereby shaving our print and paper costs; curtailing our staff by two people—the rest of the staff was glad to work harder in order to reduce expenses. There were other economies, too technical to detail. Our readers conducted a splendid financial drive last year which netted us over \$30,000.

GOOD NEWS

The combination of these factors permitted us not only to cover the 1939 deficit of \$24,464.05, but also to reduce our accumulated deficit by about 12 percent! This is truly a new experience in the magazine's history, indicating the possibility of gradually wiping out the deficit that has accumulated through the years, thus eliminating a millstone that has always threatened NEW MASSES' existence.

This news is cause for real confidence in our future. We are highly pleased to be able to tell the good news to our readers, our real "stockholders." We are happy to be in a position where, because of our increased circulation and our generally more wholesome financial condition, we are asking our readers to contribute \$25,000 this year instead of the \$30,000 they gave in 1939.

CARL A. BRISTEL,
Business Manager

Readers' Forum

"The Only Dinkum News"

TO NEW MASSES: I have sent this letter by a friend, to post in 'Frisco, not altogether through personal fear of the censorship, but rather to make sure of its delivery.

On my own personal behalf and partly on behalf of other Auckland readers of NEW MASSES, I desire to thank and congratulate you for the almost isolated and only clear scientific interpretation of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact. I cannot altogether explain the contrast between NEW MASSES and the other progressive publications of America.

You can hardly realize how much your last half-dozen issues have done to clarify the complex world war situation for us here, and I think your hardest job will be to escape the splenetic reactions of the financial brigands and war profiteers of your own country.

However, we look forward always to the arrival of the Matson liners, as they bring us the only dinkum news—through NEW MASSES. We pay a shilling (25 cents under the old exchange) for them now, but I don't care. I wouldn't miss an issue of NEW MASSES if it cost 50 cents. Good luck to you and go on with the good work. I cannot send you any financial assistance as I am an old age pensioner and I have to live on 30 shillings a week—\$7.

I would like to emphasize the great, clear, and scientific value of the articles of A. B. Magil, Alter Brody, Samuel Sillen, and Michael Gold, and I am greatly surprised at the defection of Granville Hicks.

A. M.

Auckland, N. Z.

On the English Mind

TO NEW MASSES: A friend of mine introduced me to a copy of NEW MASSES. I read it carefully, considered its contents, compared it with other papers of the international movement, and I finally came to the following conclusion. In these days when open military conflict is afoot, it is hard to get at the truth as between Britain and Germany, but with a new factor in the struggle, the USSR, the situation is still more complex. The analyses by writers in NEW MASSES help make it clear.

To look at the Soviet Union without realizing the bases upon which she faces the problem of international complications is a mistake your paper certainly does not commit. To allow the Marxist approach to the problem to fall into a mechanical line is also a process you disallow. Your clever analyses of the psychological makeup of the English liberal as well as the Tory mind add greatly to the revolutionary movement and lift it to a higher ideological level which in turn must lift our movement into a higher position.

Your excellent paper makes its mark in clearing away the emotional feeling which so blinds the average Englishman to the reality of the Soviet-German Pact that he thinks, or rather, feels, the Soviets made an alliance with the Nazis. What a throwback, we English are the cream of the earth—but the average Englishman is blind to the role played by Englishmen in sabotaging a pact between Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. He can't see that his own Englishmen are the destroyers of English prestige.

Everything holds the elements of its own destruction, even London with its Englishmen. When one contrasts the dialectic exposition in NEW MASSES with the mechanical process in English journalism, one realizes why the English mind can be used in the interest of certain Englishmen, at the expense of certain other Englishmen. This, of course, the average Englishman would deny, since England is a democracy.

Germany is no democracy but if England destroys Hitler's power, what will she put in his place in Germany to retain the status quo?

But to come home—what do NEW MASSES readers think of an economic system whereby a Labor government gives blind support to the Chamberlain government and pays £21,000,000 per year interest, enlists men, clothes and equips them, and sends them overseas to fight for they know not what—while a rationalist Labor acting prime minister presents each New Zealand soldier with a copy of the Bible?

The breezy approach to the problem shows the confidence of your writers. The realism developed in them away from the conventional forms of old England adds grist to the mill of the proletarian struggle.

Long may you carry on, and many happy birthdays.

F. H.

Auckland, N. Z.

Memo to Liberals

TO NEW MASSES: Ever since the days of the First Imperialist War the decline of the moral stamina of men and women who were supposed to be staunchly liberal has continued unabated. Now that the second such war is ravishing humanity, the sprinkling of liberals everywhere has dwindled to almost zero.

Walter Lippmann said in his column of Jan. 25, "People just before election cannot tell the difference between a Republican and a Democrat." In much the same way, it is true that in these days of deep capitalist crisis one can hardly distinguish between a liberal and a conservative for they have joined hands in the holy crusade to maintain capitalist exploitation and imperialism by means of war and the armaments which they say are necessary for "defense." The "defense" is that of the privileges of the wealthy at the expense of the welfare of the working men and women of the world.

The moral and intellectual bankruptcy of liberalism in our time is one of the major tragedies that have overtaken mankind in this death-agony period of capitalist-managed democracy and civilization.

The liberals have become tired; by this very fact they are proving more dangerously conservative and reactionary than those who have never been anything else. Witness the ignominious running for cover by journalists of two national weeklies published in New York, and above all, the complete turnabout of Mr. Franklin Delano Roosevelt who appears to be dead-set on exerting the influence of his office toward the United States' assuming a large share of the financing and supplying of armaments and materials to spread the European conflict. To this end he sponsors a "cannon-not-butter" budget.

Because of the liberals' abdication of courage and reason, we are experiencing the tremors of catastrophe starting from the time that a majority of the world's liberals shamefacedly acclaimed Chamberlain-Daladier's evil deed at Munich.

A. GARCIA DIAZ.

New York City.

Arms and the Manns

Erika and Klaus Mann's "The Other Germany" reveals the tragic weaknesses of liberal logic in support of imperialist war. Some notes on Federal Union.

THE OTHER GERMANY, by Erika and Klaus Mann. Modern Age Books. \$2.75.

LESS than a year ago Erika and Klaus Mann's *Escape to Life* was published. *The Other Germany* is their escape from life. They have written, not an article or pamphlet, but 318 pages defending the Allied cause as a crusade against barbarism. Liberals should study the result. It reveals, among other things, that all the sincerity and humanism in the world are not proof against the embarrassments of liberal logic trapped in the service of imperialism. It also demonstrates that no one can discuss the world, avoiding one-sixth of its territory and millions of its people in every country, without making some remarkably silly statements.

First the authors sacrifice the meaning of their title. It is impossible to establish the thesis that Chamberlain and Daladier are fighting *only* Nazism, not "the other Germany." So, even before beginning the book, we encounter a quotation from Harold Nicolson on the flyleaf: "The German character is one of the finest but most inconvenient developments of human nature." This is startling. Writers of good will and intelligence usually do not subscribe to such generalizations about the character of a people—especially their own people. But the Manns go much further than Mr. Nicolson. In the first sixty pages they revile this "German character" in at least ten direct references. Listen:

No error, which France may or may not have committed [at Versailles] is sufficient to explain the moral and intellectual aberration of the German people. A case of collective insanity such as National Socialism has deep roots in the character and psyche of the stricken nation. [page 33]

To be sure, there is much to abhor in the German people, and during the last few years they have shown their most repulsive features. [page 16]

... that certain tendency toward anarchy, want of moderation, and recklessness which is inherent in the German character. [page 52]

How did the German people earn this fate [of being called Boches and Huns]? What were the shortcomings and vices that caused so much resentment? [page 33]

These are only samples. In addition, the authors accept the charge that Germany was to blame for the First World War. They "hope and pray" that the Allies will win the second.

Nevertheless, the Manns insist, there is still that other Germany. There is the Germany of Goethe, of great musicians, scientists, writers; the Germany that will rise

"when the false, evil, hateful Germany will have been destroyed—and this time for more than fourteen years." It is "the Germany that we simply lump together under the name of 'Weimar.'" It must be rescued from the false, evil, hateful one. By whom? Chamberlain's Britain, Daladier's France.

Let us try to understand: The Manns have experienced the Hitler terror firsthand; they chose exile rather than submission; the horrors which they fled still cross their dreams. Nor do we forget their record of vigorous words and actions on behalf of liberty. It is at least comprehensible that the most imperfect democracy should seem to them better than "the world's nightmare" of Nazism. The danger is, they carry this attitude to a point where one is reminded of the small boy who beat his head against the wall because it felt so good when he stopped. True democracy does not yet exist, they say; at best it is only a hope. But destroy Hitler lest he destroy that hope. . . .

Still, being liberals, they cannot stop with this negative concept. The other Germany must be located more exactly and given its place in world democracy; the democracy itself needs a shot of something positive. How do they do this? "The spirit of Weimar—the European spirit" comes closest to a specific definition of what they mean by their Germany-which-is-not-Hitler. But an *improved* Weimar: one that will accord with the improved Europe which is to emerge in the peace following this war. "Europe hankers after a new order. Such an order will come, after Hitler has been overthrown." And—"The Germans' are to be won back, are to resume their place in the comity of civilized nations." In brief: European civilization has for years been thwarted in its highly civilized mission by the bad boy, Germany. Thrash him, break his spirit, then accept his European self in—yes, Federal Union!

Where, in all this high moral reordering of the world, is an economic program? Where, in fact, is there any real recognition of the economic forces that underly political developments? Or of the further recognition, following upon the first, that civilization is not forced to choose between capitalist democracy and fascism: there is a *third* way open—the way of socialist democracy. Erika and Klaus Mann virtually ignore this.

Take their section on the Weimar republic, which contains a good deal of lucid, progressive analysis. The Social Democratic leaders' surrender of revolutionary strength, their cowardice toward and ultimate collaboration with subversive reaction, are set

down in some detail. Now, there was a political party which fought—valiantly, without compromise—against these betrayals. Two of its forerunners the Manns admire, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. They were "able and willing to soften the unrealistic and often utterly irresponsible radicalism of the leftist opposition and to lead its adherents toward a lawful and democratic policy." Aside from the wholly distorted effect of limiting these two revolutionists' role to one of moderation, this is an extraordinarily oversimplified picture of tactical differences in the left movement. However, let the Manns continue. Liebknecht and Luxemburg, they say, should have fled the police, escaped death—to "preserve their moderating influence for the future." Still shaking their heads over this piece of revolutionary shortsightedness, the authors proceed to fill pages with the gruesome story of what happened during Weimar to hundreds of people who were *not* "irresponsible" and "unrealistic"—not Communists at all. The authors conclude grimly: "They were consistent, these gentlemen of the right. They did away with everyone who appeared troublesome or dangerous." Consistent, yes—terribly and fearfully more so than these two liberals who disdain leftist opposition while they despise the timidity of Social Democracy.

Do not forget, though, that Weimar (improved) is the authors' conception of a Germany that will take its place in the new Europe. The German republic, they tell us in italics, "*was far from bad*." Under its reign, art and music, drama and literature flourished again. The constitution was not followed, but just the same it was a wonderfully humane, democratic work—full of excellent intentions. Above all, there was that spirit of liberty, which fights on today by "your side." In their entire discussion there is scarcely a word to remind one of the root cause of Weimar's miserable failure—the impossibility of erecting a truly democratic state on an exhausted, Junker-ridden economy.

I have dealt at some length with their treatment of the republic because it reveals an attitude which is crucial to the tragic nonsense of their—and other liberals'—Pan-European arguments. This section on Weimar is not so absurd. Despite the illogic quoted above (and there is more of it), their treatment has a surface persuasiveness of fact and philosophy. The Manns—*pere, fils, et fille*—have always examined superstructures with an exceptional talent of originality and cultural understanding; they have been guided by an instinct toward order, reason, humane-

ness. Now, however, they are looking at more than a superstructure: nothing less than a crisis of the capitalist world. Nazism is part of that crisis and so was Weimar. The authors did not, and do not yet, regard the German republic as more than a phase of purely German history. In discussing it they often exhibit a way of thinking that seems to date back to their own Weimar days, when it was easier for them to criticize a democracy stringently. This was a time when no action, no real taking of sides, was required of them. Radicalism was "sterile and orthodox" but hardly important. The Nazi peril did not seem close until it actually arrived. As for Weimar's imperfections, why, the alternative to a faulty democracy was simple and happy: a better democracy. In short, they had very little economic insight—which did not prevent them from making some positive contributions through their devotion to democratic forms.

But now, at this time, that lack of economic understanding is all-important. It may be unfair to say that they prefer not to understand; we can say, however, that people who face economic realities honestly are on the path to socialism—for which, plainly, the Manns have no liking. Certainly no one who lacks economic insight can interpret a world crisis. This is exactly what the Manns try to do. They substitute culture and character for material forces and achieve a Dorothy Thompson. Weimar becomes a portion of Germany represented by the European spirit which in turn represents Western civilization.

In such a fashion their love of liberty is turned into a song of reaction. Civilization! they cry. Culture! Character! All of history is written for them in these three terms. To be sure, these are wonderful concepts, full of richness and promise—but only when they are integrated with reality, the material facts of life. The Manns tear them out of any meaningful context. I suspect some of the conclusions they reach will make their liberal friends wince. This business of "German character," for example—does it not smell a little of Hitler? People who respect historical truth will hardly like to see the Reformation interpreted as a stubborn German resistance to Renaissance humanism (in this connection the authors complain that "all great events of German history . . . are always 'deeds of liberation' and at the same time interfere with the development of Europe, obstacles in Western man's path toward his goal"). Admire Karl Marx or not, you will agree that it is a weird sort of special pleading to praise him only in order to condemn "the Germans" for their hostile unacceptance of his ideas. And the most fanatical moralist, I should think, would be embarrassed by the frenzied moral clichés which they throw into every paragraph of their closing chapters. (Even good taste becomes an Allied virtue.) "Dignity of man . . . the European ethic . . . human morality . . . the concept of Law . . . human claim to lib-

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Much of the rhetorical pother in the book's last section arises from panic as well as unreality. Democracy, culture, civilization *must* be saved—for whom and to what purpose?—therefore, Europe *must* unite. The authors' ideas for achieving such unity are admittedly vague; every concrete suggestion they do make can be dismissed by simply writing after it: how? They are not sure whether the USSR would fit into a United States of Europe—perhaps it had better serve as a buffer between Europe and Asia. (Anyway, if Western man isn't saved through the war against Germany there will be a century of barbarism followed by some new form of civilization. This new civilization would probably have an "Asiatic cast"—in which case "we" would not feel at ease in it.) There is almost no other mention of the Soviet Union; but, then, as the authors explain, Europe is their subject. Which leads them straight to the United States of America. Thus: ". . . the economic, political, and moral interests of America and of Europe's democracies are identical." So: "Europe and America belong together. American civilization and morality has its origin in the very Europe now threatened and forced to defend itself." Indeed, "some Europeans . . . believe that the younger, sounder, more vital American nation is destined and able to take over the initiative of a civilization which has grown weak and tired in the 'Motherland,' Europe."

These are fine-feathered phrases. But it takes more plumage than that to make the buzzards of war look pretty.

Of course, the authors assure us, they do

not want America actually to enter this war. Only non-military support is asked of us; our great role comes after the conflict, in the era of reconstruction. We seem to have heard this before. Indeed, the Manns quote their American acquaintances on it. As an American, then, let me say to these two writers: "We don't think it is good for your civilization to be saved by American capitalism." That was done once before, less than two decades past. The result was no less unfortunate for American life than for the peoples of Europe. Our capitalism offers no hope at all for the future of American civilization; how then can it save Europe's?

BARBARA GILES.

The Nineteen-Thirties

SINCE YESTERDAY, by Frederick Lewis Allen. Harper & Bros. \$3.

WITH this companion volume to *Only Yesterday*, Mr. Allen moves forward to become a celebrated annalist. He repeats for the nineteen-thirties what he achieved with verve and piquancy for the preceding decade. Out of the torrent of events he reconstructs the years of our national life from the panic in 1929 to the outbreak of war last September. As a deftly executed almanac the work is absorbing. As interpretative history the book is less than satisfactory because it fails to delineate main currents and give them their significance both in terms of space and analysis.

To relate the story of the United States for the past ten years is a gigantic task in organization of data. Mr. Allen, however, can shift almost imperceptibly from remarks on the Federal Reserve indices for industrial production to the influence of Mae West's curves on women's undergarments. His usage of transition sentences is incredible. No sooner have you emerged from a page on technocracy, than he will have you nibbling at some momentary craze that had the country trembling. With the greatest ease you swing from the first Roosevelt inaugural to the bank holiday, to Max Baer's knockout of Schmeling, to the unemployed, the skiing mania, the retreat from the churches, women's hats, fads in miniature golf, carousing in night clubs, the Hauptmann trial, and back to what Congress was doing for the CCC camps. The compilation of hundreds of items—sexual, sociological, political, recreational, technological, economic, artistic—are all woven into a texture smooth as satin.

The narrative is kept from sprawling by craftsmanship rather than a unifying idea of the time and its meaning. In a sense Mr. Allen cannot have perspective, writing as he does so closely to events. But even if he were recounting the first decade of this century I venture that he would produce the same kind of book. As a middle-class humanist democrat schooled in the work of the Beards he can show genuine sympathy for the man without a job. His is also a charitable

outlook that approves government assistance to those who need it. But Mr. Allen accepts capitalism with all its foibles without understanding its direction or the chaos it has wrought, particularly in the two decades following the war. He is, for example, content to note that there was a decided leftward current among intellectuals which showed itself in a few books and especially at literary teas. But this was only a small facet in the immense upsurge of classes and groupings within them that derived from a system in crisis. Full comprehension of class movements would have provided him with the means of placing intelligently not only the leftward shifts but also those that appeared on the right. Share-the-Wealth, Townsendism, Coughlinism, Epic, Technocracy are treated as interesting little spectacles in a vast whirlpool. His suspicion of the Communists is a sample of prejudice and ignorance culled from a *Harpers Magazine* version of their policies. The issue of the Supreme Court, the remarkable growth of labor as a pivotal force in national politics, the struggle to bring Roosevelt to a positive peace program before the advent of war in Europe—all indicative of tense class differences—are either blurred or muffed completely.

I would be the last to deny that Mr. Allen's book is useful for those who need quick reviews and cannot return to original sources. As historiography, however, it bears all the shortcomings of the institutional method: encyclopedic in facts and deficient in judgments.

JOHN STUART.

Katherine Mansfield

THE SCRAPBOOK OF KATHERINE MANSFIELD, edited by J. Middleton Murry. Alfred A. Knopf, \$2.50.

KATHERINE MANSFIELD died of tuberculosis in January 1923 at the age of thirty-four. Her exquisite personality, one of the rarest and most delicate of our day, is now in the slow process of being exposed fully to view. The task has been undertaken by her husband, John Middleton Murry. Having edited her *Journal*, he has now dug into an old trunkful of manuscript material to discover the stories, sketches, *Journal* entries, unpublished letters, critical comments, and poetry that go to make up *The Scrapbook*. (We may expect her complete letters to be published later this year.)

The Scrapbook, though fragmentary, contains several completed pieces. Besides, there are many germ ideas and early drafts of stories which were to be finished at later dates. These shed light on Katherine Mansfield's method of work. She wrote spontaneously and intensely, but not for long stretches of time, nor steadily; her standards of self-criticism were of such a nature that, unable to satisfy her own rigid requirements, she actually forced herself to abandon writing for a while. She admired Chekhov greatly and was influenced by him, but lacked the deep understanding and the flowering human sympathy of

the Russian. Often she was satiric, mimicking with sharp barbs the English literary society of her day. All of her comments on people and literature reflect the personality and artistry of one of the finest stylists and craftsmen of the short story in our time.

ALFRED J. BRENNER.

The "Good Life"

LET THE PEOPLE SING, by J. B. Priestley. Harper & Bros. \$2.50.

HERE is the story of an English town and the fight of its three class groups over who should control its Market Hall. Originally the hall had been licensed for the entertainment of the workers; now the industrialists desire it for a commercial showroom, while the town's Tories would make it a museum. Into the town wander Timmy Tiverton, an unemployed comedian (symbolizing the Comic Spirit), and Dr. Krudibacker, an exiled Czech professor (symbolizing wisdom). By joining in an evening of music and drinking, they succeed in influencing the world-weary glutton of an aristocrat, arbitrator of the dispute, to settle in favor of the workers. There is also a love theme and many farcical adventures, all in Priestley's "popular" manner.

There are also social and political implications: Priestley says that England is in danger of becoming either a factory or a museum. And since either is sure to bring rebellion from "the people," he advises the ruling class to take unto itself a bit of wisdom and plenty of the Comic Spirit, to get good and drunk and give the workers, "the people," as he puts it, an opportunity to enjoy some of the "good life." Admit that all is not as well as it might be with "Dear Old England," that the workers do have troubles. But do nothing fundamental about it. Rather, let 'em eat Bach, Beethoven, Mozart, and Brahms. "Let the people sing."

RALPH ELLISON.

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Bill Gropper, People's Artist

All the friends of Bill Gropper greet his twentieth year as an artist of and for the people. The development of America's ace political cartoonist.

THE factory system of Renaissance painters has fallen out of fashion; today a dozen pieces are considered a fair year's production quota for an artist. William Gropper would have been a marvel, even in 1600, because he turns out an estimated thousand paintings, murals, lithographs, and published cartoons and sketches a year, with no apprentices standing by to fill in a sky or foreground when the master is finished with the composition and figures.

Bill Gropper will quietly sit down to his drawing board on a Sunday afternoon, when he does his weekly cartoon for *NEW MASSES*, and begin to muse over the latest outrages in the Sunday New York *Times*. His small and active sons, Jean and Lee, invariably choose this time to put Louis Armstrong's *Shadrach* on the phonograph near his board, and the dozen-odd people who have dropped in for a call will begin posting themselves in the most advantageous positions for peering over his shoulder. Louis Armstrong and a full chorus, two small jitterbugs throwing themselves about noisily, the guests clattering their glasses—Gropper is ready to concentrate.

The making of a Gropper cartoon resembles the mysterious technique of a chalktalk artist, who begins by drawing a prohibitionist's camel and then turns it upside down to make it a raving dipsomaniac. But you can never tell what Gropper is doing until he begins swooping up crayons, pens, razor blades, and Chinese white for the final touches. After what seems a really childish and irresponsible experiment on his cartoon he will mask parts of it with paper cutouts and reach for his toothbrush. The toothbrush act finally convinces the most patient onlooker that Gropper is (1) drunk, or (2) pulling a tasteless joke. He loads the brush with India ink, points it at his drawing and whisks a table knife across the bristles, so that the brush spatters up the unmasked areas of the drawing. Then he takes the cutouts off and begins lettering his characters.

At this point all of his aimless and whimsical methods have come together into the terrific punch and readability of a Gropper political cartoon. The artist knows exactly what he is doing; Gropper has one of the most extraordinary powers of visualization in any living artist, and through prolific years of work he has trained his hand to instantly bring off the picture in his mind. This is the most enviable characteristic of all. Most artists go through life with the final futility of failing to make their hand as good as their eye. Critics know a good painting when they see one, but William Gropper can make one.

Another remarkable virtue in Gropper is

his experimental side. He is as interested in what you can do with mediums as a small boy sticking his hand into a mud pie. I once sat with Gropper in a restaurant and watched him trace a lacy paper napkin on the tablecloth with his pencil. He liked the pattern so he made a tiger out of it. Another member of the party took the tablecloth home with him but was cheated of his artistic rarity when Gropper used the idea in a cartoon. He spattered with his toothbrush through the napkin and made some drapes for an interior.

Gropper lives at Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y., in a house that just grew. It started as a one room cabin and is now big enough for four Groppers, a cook, and any hundred guests who may be around. The studio part gets bigger every year, usually when the painter gets a bigger mural job and has to extend the room

four or five feet to get the canvas in. What with Jean and Lee hoarding more Louis Armstrong records and shagging more ominously as they grow, Bill Gropper may have to invent a studio like a mariner's telescope, which can be let out in an emergency.

THE LOWER EAST SIDE

William Gropper was born forty-one years ago on the Lower East Side of New York, the son of a well educated Rumanian immigrant, who nonetheless had failed to find streets of gold in the new world. His mother supported his five brothers and sisters as a seamstress. Gropper's childhood is remembered as a series of bundles, like living in the front room of a laundry—bundles to stumble over, to sleep upon, and to deliver. He was a bright student and got himself a scholarship at the National



ACA Gallery

GROPPER AT WORK. A caricature by Aline Fruhauf depicting Friday afternoon at the office of the "Morning Freiheit," where Bill "crochets" a week's work for the leftwing press.

Academy of Design. Drawing from the clammy plaster cast did not seem like artistic decency to the youth who came from the brawling, overcrowded magnificence of life in the ghetto. Gropper's artistic future was guaranteed when the directors of the National Academy ejected him as a hopeless case. The only other formal training he has had was under the attention of George Bellows and Robert Henri at the Ferrer School.

POLITICAL BIRTH

He found a job as a staff artist on the New York *Tribune* in 1917, where his exceptional talents became apparent. Gropper as a political man emerged overnight when he and a reporter were assigned to put the blast on an IWW meeting. The pair arrived early at the Wobbly hall and amused themselves by asking one of the unionists where the bombs were. "Right here, bud," said the man, handing the press a copy of the Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World. The press read this stirring document. Gropper decided he was in agreement with the program of the IWW; before the meeting closed he had paid 50 cents and become a member. He has been a member of trade unions ever since. Gropper's fifteen-year career as a cartoonist for the *Morning Freiheit*, Yiddish leftwing paper, has never been marred by any interference with his ideas by the editors. This is a record that cannot be matched by cartoonists on the capitalist press, who either take orders or quit and go to work for the New York *Post's* George Backer.

Gropper had begun to draw for the old *Masses* during the war—in a style remarkably like the one Thurber uses today, limp lines and gag captions. There have been many developments and influences in his work—Breughel, Daumier, Goya, the Slavic graphic style, and Chinese decorativeness—but never has his work been more influence than "Gropper." A list of the magazines for which he has worked, ranging from *Spur* and *Vanity Fair* to the mimeographed journal of the Amalgamated Amalgamation of Amalgamators, AFL, would run to the end of this page. Right now he does a daily cartoon for the *Freiheit*, two or three a week for the *Daily* and *Sunday Worker*, the weekly cartoon for NEW MASSES, and monthly jobs in *Direction*, *New Life*, *New Pioneer*; and he is shortly taking over another weekly chore in a new magazine to be published soon. He has illustrated Frank Harris' *My Reminiscences as a Cowboy*, Jim Tully's *Circus Parade*, *There Ought to Be a Law*, *Necessary Nonsense*, *Reading from Right to Left*—some eighteen books in all. He is also the author of a picture novel called *Alley Oop!*, which is no relation to the comic strip character of the same name.

Gropper's murals include one for the Bacardi Bar of the Schenley Distilling Corp. offices, showing Cuban sugar cane workers, remembered from a year he spent on a construction job in Cuba. The Hotel Taft coffee shop and a night club, Cafe Society, also possess Gropper murals. Working for the government, the artist has painted a mural for the

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This Week:

Friday, February 16, GENERAL VICTOR A. YAKHONTOFF, Progressive Forum, 430 Sixth Avenue, N. Y. C., 8:15 P.M. Topic: THE FAR EASTERN ASPECTS OF THE WORLD SITUATION.
 Friday, February 16, JOSEPH NORTH, 2nd Floor, 224 West Front Street, Plainfield, New Jersey. Ausp. I. W. O. Topic: PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.
 Saturday, February 17, A. B. MAGIL, Port Arthur Restaurant, 7 Mott Street, N. Y. C., 7:30 P.M. Topic: CURRENT EVENTS.
 Sunday, February 18, JOSEPH STAROBIN, Allerton Branch, 633 Allerton Avenue, Bronx, New York, 8:30 P.M. Topic: THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.
 Sunday, February 18, JOHN STARK, Flatbush Marxist Forum, 1112 Flatbush Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., 8:00 P.M. Topic: ORGANIZED RELIGION AND THE WAR.

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Gen. Victor A. Yakhontoff

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GOINGS ON

GENERAL VICTOR A. YAKHONTOFF speaks on THE FAR EASTERN ASPECTS OF THE WORLD SITUATION, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 16th, 8:15 P.M., Progressive Forum, 430 Sixth Avenue. Admission 35c.

PHOTO LEAGUE PARTY. Sat., Feb. 17. Sound Movies, "DEATH DAY," from Eisenstein's Thunder Over Mexico. "FELIX REVOLTS." Hot Dogs, Tintypes, Dancing, 21 E. 31 St. Adm. 35c.

BEN DAVIS, member, Daily Worker Editorial Board, speaks on THE NEGRO AND THE WORLD CRISIS: NEW PROBLEMS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM, this Saturday, February 17, 2:45 p.m., at Irving Plaza, East 15 Street and Irving Place. Admission 25c. Auspices: Workers School.

ALFRED GOLDSTEIN reviews the News of the Week. Every SUNDAY EVENING, 8:30 P.M., at Irving Plaza, East 15 Street and Irving Place. Auspices: Workers School, Admission 25c.

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Freeport, Long Island, Post Office, and a large job for the main lobby of the new Department of the Interior building in Washington. The Metropolitan Museum of Art hung one of Bill's canvases in its American room—rare recognition for a living artist.

Bill Gropper will be the guest at a gala celebration at the Mecca Temple, February 17, when his friends will mark his twentieth year as a people's artist. During February the ACA Gallery will exhibit forty oil paintings that Gropper has done in the last year, an event which annually causes a great stir in the art world. The painter Joe Jones, one of Bill's own kind, a long drink of water from Missouri, has written an embattled introduction to the big book of Gropper reproductions prepared for the show. The introduction is guaranteed to peel great areas of thin skin off another school of American art—the regional lads from the corn belt.

One of the nice items on the bill at the Mecca Temple meeting is a one reel movie short of Bill Gropper at work on a cartoon, filmed by his friend Elias Katz. "He came into the studio and flooded me with lights while I was drawing," says Bill. "I had to slow up for the guy."

JAMES DUGAN.

Hamlet's Ghost

John Barrymore returns—in "My Dear Children."

JOHN BARRYMORE used to be a genius of a sort; if our memories of his performance of *Hamlet* seventeen years ago are conditioned by the fact that we were young, it still cannot be denied that the man was an artist; he had a flair. Now, at the Belasco Theater, in a nitwit farce called *My Dear Children*, we witness the painful spectacle of the wreck of an artist and a man, desperately burlesquing everything he used to be.

The fat Broadway audience that jams the theater and overflows into the aisles sits breathless, waiting for this washed-up human being on the stage to make a fool of himself for its delectation. And he does what is expected of him. Every one of the famous Barrymore mannerisms—those that were integral as well as those that were superimposed—is overworked and labored; he addresses asides to the audience—"What the hell are you laughing at anyhow?" etc. He works innuendoes into the text about his widely publicized private life. His eyebrows operate like a drawbridge; he minces, clowns, prances, nances, saws the air, and hams himself for the cheapest laughter. He is embarrassing, pitiable; he will make you feel ill, ashamed.

FOOTLIGHTS

Ernest Hemingway wrote and published a play called *The Fifth Column*, that dealt with loyalist counter-espionage in Madrid during the spring of 1937. Many producers saw it; all said it would not act (they were right) and would not be successful. Heming-

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way all but from Spain on money, he decided to accept it could be produced. Accordingly, he granted the right for it to be adapted, on condition that none of the opinions expressed by the characters be changed. When he saw the altered script, and being flush again, he offered to return the cash, call the whole thing off. No soap; and it was intimated that he might be sued plenty if he tried any monkey-business.

The play, which the Theater Guild will produce soon, is now set in Madrid early in 1939; it introduces new characters and new situations, and it acts. But it is not Hemingway's play, inasmuch as it is a highpowered romance that rings the changes on man-and-woman-in-war; all the stops are pulled out; it is an attempt to reproduce something of the plot-material and theme of *A Farewell to Arms*. Franchot Tone and Katherine Locke are the stars, but the outstanding performance will be given by Lee J. Cobb, as the revolutionary German worker, Max. Hemingway has insisted that the credit lines read, "A play by Benjamin Glazer, adapted from a published play by Ernest Hemingway." Billy Rose is the backer, and the artillery will blast you out of your chair.

The Unconquered is a vicious anti-Soviet play, adapted from a vicious anti-Soviet novel by one Ayn Rand. The "unconquered" are those heroic White Guard parasites whose virtues are still unappreciated by the USSR. Miss Rand herself "escaped from the Soviets," and her novel was popular for a few weeks some time ago. The adapted version stank so loud on its tryout tour that the usually Broadway-wise George Abbott decided to skip it. After some consideration, however (no doubt he reads the current newspapers), he has refurbished it and will present it to New York this week. NEW MASSES, surprisingly, has received tickets.

There is moving-picture money (David Loew and Arthur Lewin, for United Artists) to the extent of \$20,000 (half the production cost) behind Clifford Odets' new play with music by Hans Eisler, *Night Music*, which the Group Theater will open on February 22. The play elaborates the boy-girl-marriage-low wages problem originally stated in the Joe-Florrie scene in *Waiting for Lefty*. Elia Kazan is the boy; Jane Wyatt (after tryouts of at least a dozen gals), the girl. Kazan and Morris Carnovsky (who plays a dying detective) are expected to achieve individual triumphs, and those who have seen rehearsals say it is delightful, bound to succeed.

But no one understands why, with such talented performers as Phoebe Brand and Eleanor Lynn on hand (to mention only two), Group's director Harold Clurman had to pick an indifferent movie star. Miss Brand is teaching these days at the TAC school of acting; Miss Lynn is going on the road in the Uta Hagen role in *Key Largo*. Conspicuous example of economic waste.

ALVAH BESSIE.

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IN THE SILENCE OF NIGHT,
Rimsky-Korsakov
6. I REMEMBER THE DELICIOUS
MOMENT, *Glinka*
A SNOW-STORM SWEEPS ALONG
7. IF I COULD EXPRESS IN ONE
WORD, *Tchaikovsky*
SIDE BY SIDE
8. THE FAR WAY
FIELD, MY FIELD
9. EMBRACE ME, KISS ME
YOUTH
10. FAUST — Mephistopheles' Serenade
(Opera)
FAUST — The Calf of Gold (Opera)
11. VALSE, *Arditi*
GAVOTTE
12. THE TSAR'S BRIDE, *Rimsky-Kor-*
sakov
ALEKO—Song of the Young Gypsy
(Opera) *Rakhmaninov*
13. HUNGARIAN DANCE No. 17,
Brahms-Kreisler
NEAPOLITAN SONG, *P. Tchaikov-*
sky
14. CUCKOO MAZURKA
15. BY THE VILLAGE
STROLLING HOME
16. RED MOSCOW
SPORT MARCH
17. I DO NOT WANT TO SLEEP
OY, DZHIGUNE, DZHIGUNE
(Ukrainian Folk Song)
18. GRETCHANYKI (Ukrainian Folk
Song)
SHOULD I BUT PLAY ON MY
BANDORE (Ukrainian Folk Song)
19. FREILEKHS (Jewish Folk Music)
BIN ICH MIR A SCHNEIDERL
(Jewish Folk Song)
20. STILLER REDELE (Jewish Round
Dance "Three Raisins")
SHER (Jewish Popular Song from
the play "200,000")
21. ANUSH (Opera, *A. Tigranian*)
ANUSH (Opera, *A. Tigranian*)
22. SULIKO (Georgian Folk Song)
DARIKO (L. Tusskija, film
"Dariko")
23. ALONG THE VALES AND HILLS
POLUSHKO-POLIE (My Own, My
Beloved Field)
24. TACHANKA
IF WAR BREAKS OUT TOMOR-
ROW (from the film of the same
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